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INTRODUCTION
TO THE
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND.

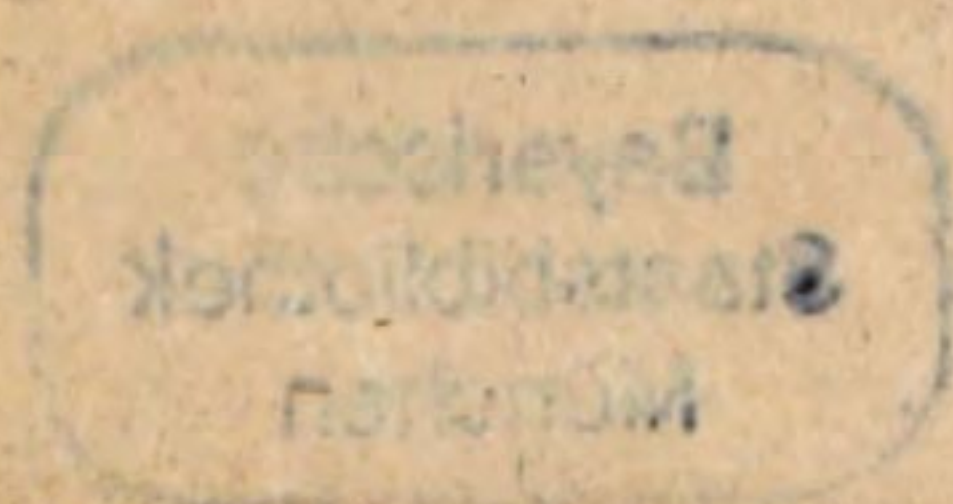
By Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*,
B A R O N E T.

The THIRD EDITION.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine tangit
Humanos animos-----*

L O N D O N,

Printed by *W.S.* for *Richard* and *Ralph Simpson*
near the North Door of *St. Paul's*. 1708.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

FROM THE
EARLIEST PERIODS

TO THE PRESENT

BY
JAMES H. BURNETT

LONDON

Printed and Published by
JOHN BURNETT, 15, N. B. Street, London.

Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
München

THE
PREFACE.

I Have often complained, that so ancient and noble a Nation as ours, so renowned by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits abroad, so applauded and envy'd, for their wise and happy Institutions at home, so flourishing in Arts and Learning, and so adorned by excellent Writers in other kinds, should not yet have produced one good or approv'd general History of England. That of France has been compos'd with great Industry, by des Serres, with Judgment and Candor, by Mezeray ; That of Spain with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by Mariana ; That of the Empire, with much Pains and good Order, as

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well as Learning, by Pedro de Mexia: But ours have been written by such mean and vulgar Authors, so tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections, so injudicious in the Choice of what was fit to be told or to be let alone, with so little Order, and in so wretched a Style; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the Affairs of our own Country, so 'tis hardly worth the Time or Pains to be inform'd, since for that end a Man must read over a Library rather than a Book, and after all, must be content to forget more than he remembers.

'Tis true, some Parcels or short Periods of our History have been left us by Persons of great Worth and Learning, much honoured or esteemed in their Times; as, Part of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, by Sir Thomas Moor; Henry the Seventh, by Sir Francis Bacon; Henry the

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the eighth, by the Lord Herbert ; Edward the Sixth, by Sir John Haywood, and Queen Elizabeth by Mr. Camden. There are besides these, many voluminous Authors of Ancient Times, in Latin, and of Modern in English, with some Foreigners, as Froissart and Polidore Virgil ; out of all which might be framed a full and just Body of our general History, if collected with Pains and Care, and digested with good Order ; for the Architect is only wanting, and not the Materials for such a Building.

I will confess, I had it in my Thoughts at one time of my Life, and the most proper for such a Work, to make an Abridgment of our English Story, having observ'd that Mezeray's Abregé of his own, was more esteemed, and much more read than his larger Volume ; but those Thoughts were soon diverted by other Employ-

THE PREFACE.

ments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well as the Intentions of doing some greater Services to my Country. I have since endeavour'd to engage some of my Friends in the same Design, whom I thought capable of atchieving it, but have not prevailed ; some pretending Modesty, and others too much valuing Ease.

Therefore to invite and encourage some worthy Spirit, and true Lover of our Country, to pursue this Attempt, I have consented to the publishing of this Introduction to the History of England, wherein I have trac'd a short Account of this Island, the Names, the Inhabitants, and Constitutions thereof, from the first Originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable Story, or of fair Conjecture, since Philosophers tell us, that none can be said to know things well, who does not know them in their Beginnings. I have further deduced

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duced it, through the great and memorable Changes of Names, People, Customs and Laws that passed here, until the End of the first Norman Reign, which made the last and great Period of this Kingdom, leaving the Successions and Constitutions since that time, so fixed and established, as to have lasted for the space of above six hundred Years, without any considerable Alteration from so long a course of Time, or such Variety of Events as have since arriv'd in the World.

I have hereby beaten thro' all the rough and dark Ways of this Fourny, the rest lies fair and easie through a plain and open Country; and I should think my self happy to see it well pursued by some abler Hand, for the Honour of our Nation, and the satisfaction of our own as well as foreign Readers, who shall be curious to know

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our Story. *I wish it may be performed with the same good intentions, and with much better success than this small Endeavour of mine,*

AN

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B *Ritain* was by the Ancients accounted the greatest Island of the known World, and for ought is yet certain, may be so still, notwithstanding the later Discoveries of *Madagascar* and *Japan*; which are by some brought into competition. It extends from
North

North to South about ten Degrees, and about two hundred Miles in the Breadth of its most extended Angles. It was anciently called *Albion*, which seems to have been softned from *Alpion*; the Word *Alp* in some of the Original Western Languages, signifying generally very high Lands or Hills, as this Isle appears to those who approach it from the Continent. But of those Times there is no Certainty remains in Story, more than that it was so called, and very little known to the rest of the World.

By the *Romans*, and some time before *Cesar*, it was called *Britannia*; concerning which Name very much Debate, and no Agreement has been among the modern Learned of our Country, or of others. After raking into all the Rubbish of those Authors; That which seems

seems to me most probable, is, that the Strangers who came over into this Island upon the score of Traffick, from the Coasts of *Gaul* or *Germany*, called the Inhabitants by one common Name of *Briths*, given them from the Custom among them of painting their naked Bodies and small Shields with an azure Blue, which by them was called *Brith*, and distinguish'd them from Strangers who came among them: From this Name of the Inhabitants, the *Romans* upon their Invasions, Conquests, and Colonies establish'd in *Gaul*, which brought them first acquainted with this Island, called it *Britannia*, by giving a Latin termination to a barbarous Name, and the same which appears to have been usual with them by the Appellations of many other Countries, that fell under their Com-

Commerce or Conquests, as *Mauritania*, *Lusitania*, *Aquitania*, and several others commonly known. The curious may observe this Care of the *Romans*, in giving their own Terminations to many barbarous Countries, and forming easie and pleasant Sounds out of the hardest and most offensive, to such elegant Tongues and Ears as theirs: I shall instance only in three, among many more, that are obvious to such as please themselves with these Speculations. The Province of *Britain* in *France* was called among the Natives *Al Mor*, which signified *ad mare*, or near the Sea; from this the *Romans* call'd it *Armorica*. The Isle between the Branches of the *Rhine*, which divide for some distance before they fall into the Sea, was called by the Old Germans *Vat awe*, which signifies

nifies fat or fruitful Earth; and from this was fram'd the Latin word *Batavia*. The North-East part of *Scotland* was by the Natives called *Cal Dun*, which signifies a Hill of Hazel, with which it was cover'd; from whence the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Caledonia*: All which have lasted in their Language to this Day.

The *Britains* were little known abroad, before the first Entrance of the *Romans* into their Isle, or the Preparations and Enquiries they made in order to that Expedition: Their Coasts only opposite to *Gaul* and *Belgium*, were frequented by Merchants from thence, who came thereby acquainted with them, but little with the Inland Provinces: And these were the Men from whom *Cesar* drew his best Intelligence concerning the Country he intended to invade, All

All that we find related of them by any credible Witnesses or Authority, before the *Romans* entred, is, that the whole Country was filled with infinite numbers of People, mightily abounding in all sorts of Cattle or Beasts, both Wild and Tame ; Their Houses poorly Built, and scattered all over the Country, without Observance of Order or Distance, by which Villages are compos'd : But the *Britains* were placed as every Man liked, and at smaller or greater Distances as they were invited by the Fertility of Soil, or the Convenience of Wood or of Water. They lived most upon Milk, or Flesh which they got by Hunting ; little upon Corn, which was not in much Esteem or Plenty among them. What Cloaths they wore to cover any Parts of their Bodies, were usually of the
Skins

Skins of Beasts ; but much of their Body, as Arms, Legs, and Thighs, was left naked, and in many of them, All ; What was naked, was painted with Blue. This was universal among them , whether esteemed an Adornment, or of Terror to their Adversaries, or to distinguish them from all their Neighbours that came among 'em, as Friends or as Enemies.

Their Towns were most upon their Coasts, and founded for the Advantage of Havens, and the Recourse of Strangers from the Continent, to Buy and Sell or Exchange Wares with those of the Island. These Inhabitants were much more Civilized than those of the inland Country, by the Commerce and Frequentation of other Nations, especially the *Gauls*, who had long before been Civilized by
the

the *Roman* Colonies. The Commodities exported out of the Isle, were chiefly Hides and Tin; which last was peculiar to this Country, and in much Use abroad, both in nearer and remoter Regions, where this Island was chiefly known by the Product of this Commodity, convey'd among them at so great Distances, and so much in request. Some Silver they had, but not in common use, as having few Mines, and little Knowledge how to improve them, either in the Digging or Refining : Pearls they had too, and frequently found among them, but neither clear, nor colour'd like those of the Orient ; and therefore in low esteem among the *Romans* : But little Iron, and that us'd either for Arms or for Rings, which was a sort of Money current among them : the rest was of *Brass*, which
was

was brought from abroad, and imploy'd only for this Use.

Their Language, Customs, and Religion, were generally the same with those of the *Gauls*, before the *Roman* Conquests in that Province, which were much earlier than in *Britain*: This affinity made them frequently assist the *Gauls* upon the Coasts, in their Wars against the *Romans*, and gave the first occasion of *Cesar's* invading *Britain* for Revenge and Safety, as well as Conquest and Glory.

Their Government was like that of the ancient *Gauls*, of several small Nations under several petty Princes; which seem the Original Government of the World, and deduced from the natural Force and Right of Paternal Dominion; Such were the *Hords* among the *Goths*, the *Clans* in *Scotland*, and

B

Septs

Septs in *Ireland*. Whether these small British Principalities descended by Succession, or were elected by the advantages of Age, Wisdom, or Valour in the Families of the Prince, is not recorded. But upon great or common Dangers, the chief Commander of all their Forces, was chosen by common Consent in general Assemblies ; as *Cesar* relates of *Cassivellaunus* against his Invasion. The same was done upon their Revolts against the *Roman* Colonies, under *Caractacus* and *Voadicea* ; For among them, Women were admitted to their Principalities and general Commands, by the Right of Succession, Nobility of Birth, or Eminence of other Qualities.

Their Forces consisted chiefly in their Foot, and yet they could draw great numbers of Horse into
the

the Field upon *great Occasions* ; they likewise used Chariots in Fight ; which with short Scythes fasten'd to the ends of the Axle-trees , gave cruel Wounds, great Terror, made fierce Charges upon the Ranks of their Enemies, and were of much Force to break, or disorder them. Their common Arms were small Shields, but very large Swords, which express'd more Desire of Wounding their Enemies, than defending themselves. They were esteem'd a very brave and fierce People, till their Bodies came to be softned, and their Courages debas'd by the *Luxury* as well as Servitude, which the *Romans* introduc'd among them.

In their Religion and their Laws they were wholly govern'd by their *Druids*, as were the ancient *Gauls*, who are said to have been furnish-

ed with the chieft and moft learn-
 ed of theirs out of *Britain*, esteem-
 ed the Nurſery of the ancient *Dru-*
ids, ſo renowned in Story ; Theſe
 were the only Perſons of any fort
 of Learning in theſe Nations, which
 was deriv'd by long Tradition a-
 mong them, conſiſted in the Ob-
 ſervation of the Heavens, Know-
 ledge of the Stars and their Courſes,
 and thereby the Prefages of many
 Events, or at leaſt Seaſons where-
 in the Vulgar is chiefly concern'd.
 The reſt was their Doctrines of
 Religion, Forms of Divine Wor-
 ſhip, and Inſtructions in Morality,
 which conſiſted in Juſtice and For-
 titude. Their Lives were ſimple
 and innocent, in Woods, Caves,
 and hollow Trees : their Food of
 Acorns, Berries or other Maſte ;
 their Drink, Water : Which made
 them reſpected and admir'd, not
 only

only for knowing more than other Men, but for despising what all others valu'd and pursu'd, and by their great Virtue and Temperance they were suffer'd patiently to reprove and correct the Vices and Crimes, from which themselves *were free*. All this together gave them such authority and veneration among the People, that they were not only the Priests, but the Judges too, throughout the Nation. No Laws were instituted by Princes or common Assemblies, without the Proposal or Approbation of the *Druids*; No Person was punish'd by Bonds, Strokes, or Death, without the Judgment and Sentence of the *Druids*; From a Belief that Men would never submit to the loss of their Liberties, or their Lives, unless they believ'd it was inflicted upon them by a *Divine Authority*. B 3 One

One Custom there was among the *Britains* which seems peculiar to themselves, and not found in the Stories of any other Nations, either Civil or Barbarous, which was a Society of Wives among certain numbers, and by common consent. Every Man marry'd a single Woman, who was always after and alone esteem'd his Wife : But it was usual for five or six, ten or twelve, or more, either Brothers or Friends, as they could agree, to have all their Wives in common : Encounters hapned among 'em as they were invited by Desire, or favour'd by Opportunity. Every Woman's Children were attributed to him that had marry'd her ; but all had a share in the Care and Defence of the whole Society, since no Man knew which were his own. Tho' this Custom be alledg'd as a Testimony

ving subdu'd all that Province, and the bordering parts of *Germany*, was the first we read of with any certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with Foreign Arms. His Forces were compos'd of *Germans*, *Batavians*, and *Gauls*, besides the rest of his Old *Roman* Legions: Yet in two Expeditions he made into this Island, he rather encreas'd the Glory than the Dominion of *Rome*; and gave *Britain* the Honour of being the last Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before subdu'd and reduc'd into Provinces so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*.

The Britains with their naked Troops made a brave Opposition against this *Veterane Army*, in many fierce Encounters, with mutual Losses, and various Successes; till Dissention entring among the several

dren : all which are Considerations that have fallen under the Care of many *famous Law givers*. But the best excuse was made upon this occasion by a British Woman (in the time of *Severus*) who being grown familiar with *Julia Augusta*, and other chief Ladies of that Court, and having observ'd what pass'd there behind the Curtain, was one day reproached for this Custom of the *Britains*, as infamous in the Women, as well as Barbarous in the Men ; She answer'd coldly, We do that openly with the best of our Men, which you do privately with the *worst* of yours. However it be, such were the People and the Customs of *Britain*, when the *Romans* first invaded their Island under the Ensigns of *Julius Cesar*. This famous Roman Leader then Governour of *Gaul*, after having

ving subdu'd all that Province, and the bordering parts of *Germany*, was the first we read of with any certainty, that enter'd *Britain* with Foreign Arms. His Forces were compos'd of *Germans*, *Batavians*, and *Gauls*, besides the rest of his Old *Roman* Legions : Yet in two Expeditions he made into this Island, he rather encreas'd the Glory than the Dominion of *Rome* ; and gave *Britain* the Honour of being the last Triumph of that mighty Republick, which had before subdu'd and reduc'd into Provinces so many Kingdoms and Commonwealths in *Europe*, *Asia* and *Africa*.

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veral Princes, some of them jealous of *Cassivellaunus*, or his Greatness, fled over to *Cesar*, submitted to the *Romans*, and desired their Protection. Others follow'd their Example, till *Cassivellaunus* weakned by these Desertions, resolved likewise to make the best Terms he could for himself and the rest ; he sends to *Cesar*, acknowledges the *Roman* State, agrees upon a certain Tribute, and delivers Hostages. And here began the Fate of *Britain*, to make way for Foreign Conquests by their Divisions at home.

The *Romans* were pleased with the Name of a New Conquest, and glad to end an Adventure with some honour, which they found was not further to be pursued, without long Time and much Danger ; and having discovered rather than subdued the Southern Parts only
of

of the Island, return'd into *Gaul* with their whole Forces, and left the *Britains* to their own Customs, Laws, and Governments.

Cesar being esteem'd the best Writer, as well as the greatest Captain of his Age, or perhaps of any other; has with his own Pen left us the best Account, not only of this Enterprize, but of this Island too, till then, little known to the rest of the World.

Those Tales we have of what passed there before his time, of *Brute* and his *Trojans*, of many Adventures and Successions, are covered with the Rust of Time, or involved in the Vanity of Fables, or pretended Traditions; which seem to all Men obscure or uncertain; but to me, forg'd at Pleasure, by the Wit or Folly of their first Authors, and not to be regarded.

From

From the first Entrance of *Cesar's* triumphant Arms, we have some constant Light in the Story of *Britain*, tho' often very weak and uncertain, from the Obscurity of those barbarous Nations, who invaded the Northern Parts of the Island; and from the Ignorance of those illiterate Ages, that passed from the Decay to the Restoration of the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages and Learning, in the Western Parts of *Europe*.

As the *Roman* Conquests advanced in this Island during the Reigns of so many *Emperors*, the bravest of the Natives, who could not endure that Subjection, retired into the Mountainous and Rocky Parts of *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where they preserv'd their Liberty some time longer, but fell at last, with the rest, into the common Servitude.

But

But the greatest Numbers, and of the hardest Bodies as well as Courage, among the *Britains*, after many brave Attempts for Defence of their Country and Liberty, and many Defeats by the invincible *Romans*, still retir'd Northward from the Incroachments of the Conqueror, till they were at last beaten out into the rough and savage Parts, beyond the two Fryths, where the *Romans* afterwards built a Wall. These native *Britains* were by them called *Picts*, from the Custom they still retain'd of Painting their Bodies and their Shields. And this I take for the most probable Account of the Nation so term'd by the *Romans* (for among themselves they were call'd *Albins*) though much Pains and Invention has been employ'd by many Authors, to make them a Foreign Race of People, who,

who, from they know not what Country, and at they know not what time, invaded and possess'd *Caledonia*, or the Northern Parts of *Scotland*.

'Tis more difficult to find out the Original of the *Scots*, or the Time of their Entrance upon those North-west Regions ; but as far as can be gather'd out of the Dust or Rubbish of such barbarous Times and VVritings, and what remains still of known Appellations and Events, it seems probable, that vast Numbers of a savage People, call'd *Scyths*, at some certain time, began and atchiev'd the Conquest of the *Northern* Parts both of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and by an easie Change of the word, were call'd *Scots*, and from them those two Countries were call'd *Scotia major*, and *Scotia minor*. VVhether the *Scots* landed first

first in *Ireland* or *Scotland*, I leave disputed and undetermin'd among their Authors : But it seems agreed, that both these Countries were for some course of time, stil'd *Scotia*, and that both those Northwest Parts of *Scotland* as well as *Ireland*, were call'd *Ierne*. I am apt to conjecture, that when these *Scots* seated themselves in those Parts of *Scotland*, they divided themselves into two Races or Nations, whereof those who inhabited the North-East Parts, call'd themselves *Albin-Scots*, the Name of the Natives there, being then *Albins* ; and the rest who possess'd the North-west Parts, were call'd *Iren Scots*, from a River of that Country, which gave it the Name of *Ierne* ; and this Name was communicated to all the rest of that Race, who conquer'd and possess'd the North of

Ire-

Ireland, which from them was stil'd by the Saxons *Iren-land*, and by Abbreviation, *Ireland*. And the Original Name seems to have belonged rather to those Parts of *Scotland* than *Ireland*, since it is given us by the ancientest *Latin* Verse that mentions it, with the Epithet of *Glacialis Ierne*, which agrees little with the Climate of *Ireland*.

That these fierce Invaders were *Scythians* or *Scyths* (which was their Vulgar Termination) is probably conjectur'd, if not ascertain'd, not only from their Name, but from the Seat of that Continent, which is nearest to the North of *Scotland*: This is *Norway*, and is the utmost Western Province of that vast Northern Region which extends from thence to the farthest Bounds of *Tartary* upon the Eastern Ocean, and was by the Ancients
com^a

comprehended in that general Appellation of *Scythia*, as well as divided into several other Barbarous Names and Countries. Besides, 'tis both usual and rational, that such great Transmigrations of People should be made from a worse to a better Climate or Soil, rather than to a worse, which makes this probable to have proceeded from *Norway*, than from lower and more fertile parts of *Germany*, and the Island which is the nearest part of Land to that Continent of *Norway*, retains still the Name of *Schetland*, as the first Point which is reported to have been touch'd by the *Scots*, or *Scyths*, in this Navigation.

Another Argument may be drawn from several Customs still remaining among the old Northern Irish, which are recorded to have been anciently among some of the *Scythian*
C Nations,

Nations, removing their Houses or
 Creats, from one place to another
 according to the Seasons : Burning
 of their Corn instead of Beating
 or Treading in other Countries :
 Eating Blood they drew from living
 Cattle ; Feeding generally upon
 Milk ; and using little other Huf-
 bandry, besides the Pasture and
 Breed of Cattle. To this is added,
 that the Mantle or Plad, seems to
 have been the Garment in use a-
 mong the Western *Scythians*, as
 they continue still among the Nor-
 thern *Irish*, and the Highland *Scots*.
 For their Language, it must be
 confess'd, there is not left the least
 Trace by which we may seek out
 the Original of this Nation ; for
 it is neither known nor recorded
 to have been used any where else in
 the World, besides *Ireland*, the
 High-lands of *Scotland*, and the Isle
 of

of Man, and must be allow'd to be an Original Language, without an Affinity to the Old British, or any other upon the Continent, and perhaps with less mixture, than any other of those Original Languages yet remaining in any parts of *Europe*. The Conjecture rais'd of its having come from *Spain*, because some *Spanish* words are observed in it, appears too light to be regarded, when those very words are of the modern *Spanish*, which is a Language not above seven or eight Hundred Years Old, and compounded chiefly out of Old *Roman* and *Gothick*, with a later intrusion of the *Saracen* among them: And yet I know no better ground than this; for the other Tradition of *Ireland* having been anciently planted from *Spain*, and I esteem the few *Spanish* words to have been introduced on-

ly by Traffick of the South-west parts of *Ireland* to *Spain*.

It seems probable, that from what part soever of the Continent this Nation Sail'd upon this Adventure, they were driven away by the force or fear of some other Invaders, and in so great numbers, that the Natives remaining, neither preserved any where their Name or Language, but were either destroy'd by the Conquerors, or blended into the Masse of the new Nations, who seated themselves in their Country, as we find the Old *British* to have been in *England*, by the Conquests and Inundations of the *Saxons*.

The time of this Expedition is yet less in view, nor does *Buchanan* or any other Author that I know of, pretend to tell, or so much as conjecture further, than upon a supposition of the *Scots* coming first out
of

of *Ireland*, without alledging any Authority for that neither. I know no way of making any guesses at a matter so obscure, without recourse to the Runick Learning and Stories, by which we find that the *Asiatick Scythians*, under the Names of *Getes*, or *Goths*, and the Conduct of *Odin* their Captain, (their Law-giver at first, and afterwards one of their Gods) are esteemed to have begun their Expedition into the North-west parts of *Europe*, about the time that the *Roman* Arms began first to make a great noise, and give great fears in *Asia*, which was in the Reigns of *Antiochus* first, and then of *Mithridates*. How long the Arms of *Odin* and his Successors, were imploy'd in the Conquest and Settlement of that vast Kingdom which contained all the Tracts of Country furrounding the

Baltick Sea, is not agreed upon in these Runick Stories ; but 'tis necessary, *Norway* must have been the last they possess'd in their Western Progress ; and I am apt to think, the *Scyths* may have been driven by them, to seek nearer Seats in our Islands ; and that 'tis probable to have been some time of the first Century. Whenever it was, it seems more agreed, that after the first Entrance of the *Scots* into *Caledonia*, they subdu'd much of the Country, mingl'd with the rest of the Native *Picts*, continu'd long to infest the Frontier Parts of the *Roman* Colonies in *Britain*, with great Fierceness, and many various Events ; and would possibly have made much greater noise and impressions upon the *Romans*, if their greater Numbers had not been drawn another way,
by

by so great a Drain as that of *Ireland* ; which they totally conquer-
ed, and long possess'd.

This is the best Account I have
been ever able to give my self of
these ancient Times and Events in
the Northern Parts of our Islands,
being a Matter that has employ'd
so many unskilful Pens, in so much
idle Trash, and worthless Stuff,
as they have left upon it ; but all
involv'd in such groundless Tra-
ditions and Vanity of Fables, so
obscur'd by the length of time,
and darkness of unlearn'd Ages,
or cover'd over with such gross
Forgeries, made at pleasure by
their first Inventers, that I know
few ancient Authors upon this Sub-
ject, worth the pains of Perusal,
and of dividing or refining so little
Gold, out of so much coarse Oar,
or from so much Dross. And I

have the rather made this Excursion, because I have met with nothing in Story more Obscure ; and often observed with wonder, that we should know less of *Ireland*, than of any other Country in *Europe*. For, besides its having been anciently planted by the *Scots*, and taken their Name, and then after several Centuries been subdued, and much of it planted by the *Danes* ; we know nothing certain of the Affairs or Revolutions of that Island, till the *English* began their Conquests there, under the Ensigns of *Henry* the Second. For the *Danish* Establishments there, we neither know the Time nor the manner they either began or ended, though many Monuments still remain of the Towns and Castles they Built, and many Records among some Families in *Denmark* ;
of

of the Lands and Possessions they long held and enjoyed in *Ireland*.

I shall now return to that part of our Island which was more properly by the *Romans* termed *Britannia*, was Conquered by the Victorious Arms, and reduced into a Province by the wise Institutions of that renowned Nation ; and having once found the end of the Thread, it will be easie to wind off the Bottom ; and being a Subject treated by so many Authors, and pretty well agreed, I shall trouble my self no further, than to continue the Thread as it leads through the several Revolutions that have happened in this noble Island, till the last *Norman* Period, by which the present Succession and Government seem to have been Establish'd, and has ever since continued.

The

The *Roman Arms* enter'd *Britain* under the first and most renown'd of their Emperors, which was *Julius Cesar* : But it was not a Quarry worth such an Eagle, and so left by him, to be be pursu'd by the Lieutenants of the succeeding Emperors.

The second Expedition into *Britain* was made by *Claudius*, under the Conduct of *Plautius*, and pursued under *Ostorius*, and other *Roman* Commanders, with great Successes. The Southern Coasts, with most of the inland Parts thereunto adjacent, were wholly subdu'd and secured by Fortifying Camps, Building Castles, and Planting many Colonies. The rest seem'd at a Gaze, and to promise Submissions at the first, rather than any Disturbances, to the Progress of the *Roman Arms*. Till provoked
by

by the Opression of some of the Pretors, and their corrupt Officers; The *Britains* towards the North, made head under *Caractacus*, and continued for nine years, not only a brave Defence, but threatned some fatal dangers to the *Roman* Colonies, till in a decisive Battel, by the advantage of armed and discipline Veteran Soldiers, against loose Troops of naked Men; The *Britains* were totally vanquished, *Caractacus* taken Prisoner, and sent to make a part of a famous *British* Triumph at *Rome*. Yet one strong Endeavour more was made for their Liberty, in the time of *Nero*; when *Paulinus* going with the best part of his Army to subdue the Isle of *Anglesey*; The *Britains* presuming upon so great a Distance between the Governor and his Colonies, made a general Insurrection

on under *Voadicea*, fell upon the *Romans* in all Places, took their Castles, destroy'd the chief Seats of their Power at *London* and *Verulam*, and pursued their Advantages with such Slaughter and Revenge, that above seventy Thousand *Romans*, or their Auxiliaries, were killed by the Fury of this general Revolt : Yet *Paulinus* returning with his Army, encountred the *British* Forces in a set Battel, overthrew their whole Powers, pursued his Victory, with the Slaughter of eighty Thousand; forced *Vcadicea* to Poison her self in Despair : And here ended, not only the *British* Liberties, but their very Hopes too of any considerable Attempts ever to recover them.

Under *Vespasian* and *Domitian*, *Julius Agricola* first discovered it to be an Island, Sailing round it with
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his Fleets, and extended and pacified the Bounds of his Province to the Neck of Land between the two Fryths about *Sterling* and *Glasco*; and returning, applied himself to the Arts of Peace and Civil Institutions, brought in the Use of the *Roman* Laws and Customs, Habits and Arms, Language and Manners, Baths and Feasts, Studies and Learning: By all which he pretended to soften the Minds and change the very Natures of a barbarous People, very difficult to be subdued by other means, how violent soever. This wise Council pursued by his Successors in the Government, succeeded so well, that the *Romans* had little trouble afterwards in *Britain*, besides the Defence of their Province upon the Northern Borders,

After

After these Establishments, the *Romans* called all that part of the Island lying Northward from the two Fryths, *Caledonia* ; leaving the Name of *Britania* to the rest, which was reduced to their Obedience, and from that time remain'd a *Roman* Province. To defend it from the Irruptions of these fierce and numerous People on the North side, *Agricola* began, and in some manner finished, a Wall or Vallum, upon that narrow space of Land that lies between the two Fryths or Bays of the Eastern and Western Seas ; upon which *Glasco* and *Sterling* are seated. He fortified this Pass between the two Points, with Towers and Ramparts to make it defensible against those barbarous Nations who inhabited the Northern side of that Country which the *Romans* esteem-
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ed not worth the Conquering, and provided only for Security of the rest of the Island. Many Ruins of this Vallum were lately, and for ought I know, may be still remaining; and among the rest, a small round Tower built of Stone, but so exactly Cut, as every one to Joynt into another, with admirable Art and Firmness, though without any use of Mortar or Iorn. And this was esteemed to have been a Temple of *Terminus*, and built there as the utmost Bounds of the *Roman* Province. This was afterwards repaired and stronger fortified by *Adrian* and *Severus*: Nor is it indeed agreed by Authors which of them began or finish'd it, and whether the last made not another Vallum between the two Seas more Southward, and of a much greater Length: But I think the first

first more probable. However, this was a Defence intended and atchieved by the *Romans*, against those bold and brave Remainers of the *Northern Britains* assisted by the *Scots*, who yet frequently invaded and infested the Province, during the time the *Romans* held this Island, which was till the Reign of *Honorius*, and for the space of about four hundred and sixty Years.

Upon the Divisions in the *Roman* Empire, which was grown a Prey to their Armies, and commonly disposed by their inconstant Humors; The Pretenders often fought their Battels, and decided their Quarrels in *Gallia*, as well several of the Commanders there who arived at the Empire, as several others who fell in the pursuit of that fatal Purple, and left only
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the Name of Tyrants behind them in the Stories of that Age. For the assistance of these Factions, the *British* Legions were at several Times and Occasions drawn away into *Gaul*, and with them great Numbers of the bravest of the *British* Youth, who were affectionate to the *Roman* Government, and instructed in their Language, Manners, and Discipline of their Arms. As the *Roman* Forces decreased in *Britain*, the *Picts* and *Scots* still the more boldly infested the Northern Parts, crossing the *Fryths*, and hovering about the Coasts in little Boats of Wicker, covered with Leather, filled all, where they came, with Spoil and Slaughter; till repelled by what remained of the *Roman* Forces, they retired still into their Northern Nest, watching for the next occasion of Invasion,

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vasion, and Revenge upon the Neighbouring *Britains*, whenever the *Romans* were drawn away into remoter Parts of the Island. These Enterprises were often repeated, and as often as repress'd, for some time, till in the Reign of the second *Valentinian* upon the mighty Inundations of those barbarous Northern Nations, which under the Names of *Goths* and *Vandals*, invaded the *Roman* Empire with infinite Numbers, Fury, and Danger to *Rome* it self, all the *Roman* Legions were at last drawn out of *Britain*, with most of the *Britains* that were fit for Military Service, to relieve the Emperor who was pursued by the *Goths* into *Piedmont*, and there besieged in a strong Passage or Town he pretended to Defend.

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The *Romans* taking their last Leave of this Province here, left the *Britains* to their own Government, and Choice of their own Kings and Leaders, with the best Instructions for the Exercise of their Arms and Discipline, and the Repairs and Defence of the Wall or Rampart they had raised against their Northern Foes. But these finding the whole Country deserted by the *Roman* Bands, exhausted of their own bravest Youth, and weakned by their new Divisions, began to pour in greater Numbers than ever into the Northern Parts, and ravaged all before them with greater Rage and Fury. The poor *Britains* sent over their miserable Epistle for Relief (still upon Record) to the renowned *Ætius*, who had by several famous Successes, for a time, repelled the Violence

olence of the *Gothick* Arms ; which was addressed in these words: *To Ætius thrice Consul ; The Groans of the Britains ;* and told him, after other lamentable Complaints ; *That the barbarous People drove them to the Sea, and the Sea back to the barbarous People ; between which they had only left the Choice of these two Deaths, either to be killed by the one, or drowned by the other.* But having no Hopes given them by the *Roman* General, of any Succours from that Side, they began to consider what other Nation they might call over to their Relief. The *Saxons* were one Branch of those *Gothick* Nations which Swarming from the Northern Hive, had under the Conduct of *Odin*, possessed themselves anciently of all those mighty Tracts of Land that surround the *Baltick* Sea. A Branch of these,

these under the Name of *Suevi*,
 (from whom the Baltick was of
 old called *Mare suevicum*) had some
 time before *Cesar's* Wars in *Gaul*,
 invaded and subdued very large ex-
 tended Territories in *Germany*, from
 the Coast of the North-west Oce-
 an to the South-eastern Parts,
 whereof *Suabia* still retains the
 Memory and the Name. These
Suevi or *Suabi* were for their
 Strength and Valour grown so
 Formidable to all the *German* Na-
 tions they had Conquered, and
 forced to seek new Seats; That
 those upon the *Rhine*, sending Em-
 bassadors to *Cesar*, told him, *They*
would neither seek War with the Ro-
mans, nor avoid it; That they esteem-
ed themselves as Valiant as any other
Nation, excepting only the Suevi, for
whom the very immortal Gods were
not a Match. These *Suevi* became

afterwards divided into two several Nations, and by Limits agreed between them. Those towards the South-east of *Germany* were called *Franks*, from their great Love of Liberty, and their Valour in preserving it, and never submitting to the *Roman* Subjection, as many other *German* Nations had done; These upon the fatal Decline of that Empire, invaded *Gaul* under the leading of *Pharamond*, and under the succeeding Kings of his Race, conquered the whole Province, and established that noble and ancient Kingdom of *France*.

The other Branch of the *Suevi* possessed themselves of all those Tracts of Land in *Germany* that lie between the *Elbe* and the lower *Rhine*, had extended their Seats all over the Coasts of the North west Sea, and from thence exercised their

Arms

Arms and fierce Courages, in all sorts of Spoils and Pyracies, not only upon Merchants or Traders at Sea, but upon the Maritime Coasts of *Britain*, opposite to those Countries about the Mouth of the *Rhine*, or thereunto adjacent. These fierce People were called *Saxons*, from a Weapon generally used among them, and made like a Scythe with the Edge reversed, which in their Language were termed *Seaxes*.

To these *Vortigern*, chosen King by the deserted and afflicted *Britains*, made Address for Aid against the *Picts* and *Scots*, who had now made inroads as far as *Trent*. Their desires of Relief, and offers of Seats in *Britain*, were soon accepted and granted by the *Saxons*, who under the Conduct of *Hengist* and *Horfa*, of the Race of *Odin*, came

over with great Numbers, to the Assistance of the *Britains*, in the year 450. They joyned with the Natives at first, as Friends and Allies, had the Isle of *Thanet* assigned them at their Landing, and upon occasion of greater numbers, the Country of *Kent* for their Colony and Habitation. They marched against the *Picts* and *scots*, and in Conjunction with the *British* Arms, overthrew their Forces, in several Battels or Encounters with those cruel Ravagers, and beat them back into the most Northern parts of the Province. After this, by Consent of the *Britains*, *Hengist* and *Horfa* sent for their two Sons or near Kinsmen, to come over with a new Army of *Saxons* by Sea, into those Northern Parts; who seated their Colony about *Northumberland*, upon pretence of guard-

guarding that Frontier against the *Picts* and *Scots*, and their Incurfions upon the *Britains*, which they did with great Bravery and Successes, and thereby left those Nations, contented or forced, to bound their Territories with those rough and mountainous Countries that lye between the two Seas, near the River *Tweed*, and which ever since continued, as the Borders between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, into which, the Island came afterwards to be divided.

The Province, now delivered and secured from their ancient Foes, Dissentions began to arise between the *Britains* and their new Allies; The *Saxons*, valuing too high the assistance they had given, and the *Britains* perhaps too low what they had received, till the first allured by so fair a Prey, and the fertile
Soil

Soil of so sweet a Country, inviting still greater numbers from the Continent, establish'd two *Saxon* Kingdoms, one in the Southern, and t'other in the Northern Parts; and from both these sides invaded the *Britains*, who for some time defended themselves and their Liberties, with various Successes, and with the greater hatred and distinction, the *Saxons* being all Pagans, and the *British* generally Christians; which Religion seems to have been planted here in the first Century, but to have taken Root, and spread chiefly under *Constantius*, who was long Governour of the *Roman* Province here, a great favourer of Christianity, and Father of *Constantine* the Great,

In the time of these first Wars between the *Saxons* and *Britains*, *Ambrosius* reigned over the last, and
either

either as General of his Armies, or his Successor in the Kingdom, *Arthur*, so famous in the Traditions, or rather in the Romances of succeeding Ages, and who is said to have gain'd twelve Battels over the *Saxons*, and to have left the *Britains* in the middle of the Province, for some time to secure from these fierce Enemies, till Peace and Luxury had again softned them, and by new Dissentions among themselves, exposed their whole Province to become an easie Prey to so fierce and numerous Invaders. The time of King *Arthur's* Reign or Atchievements (if any such there were) must have been between the Years 460 and 500. But this whole Story is left so uncertain or obscure, by those poor Writers who have pretended to leave the Tales, rather than the History of
those

those times behind them, that it remains in doubt, whether to consider them as a part of the Story of that, or the Fables of succeeding Ages. Whatever there was of plain Stuff, the Embroidery of it, with the Knights of the Round Table, their Orders and their Chivalry, and the rest of that kind, seems to have been introduced by that Vein of the *Spanish* Romances, which many Ages after filled the World with so much of that idle Trash, and chose for the Subject of them, the Adventures and Successes of the first Christian pretended Heroes, who renowned such fictitious Names, by extravagant Actions or Adventures against the Pagans or the Saracens, either in *Spain* or other parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. And among these, 'tis probable those Writers found room
for

for the many Legends of the *British Arthur*, and his Romantick Adventures against the Heathen *Saxons*.

After the Year 500, for one Century or thereabouts, the *Saxon* Forces were employed in subduing the midland Parts of *Britain*, inter-jacent between their two first Establish'd Colonies or Kingdoms in the South or *Kent*, and in the North, or about *Northumberland*; and to furnish Men for such Achievements, and the new Plantation of so great Tracts of Country, after the Conquest and Devastation of the Old, mighty numbers of the *Saxon* Race came over into *Britain* in several Expeditions, and Landing at several Places; That which is recorded to have made sudden and easie way for their final Conquests, was a Treaty they entered

tered into with the *Britains*, where upon a Parley mediated between them, Three Hundred of the Chief on each side, agreed to meet and conclude the Treaty in a great Plain: In the midst of Talk and Drink, which had part in this Commerce, the *Saxons* provoking maliciously, and the *Britains* innocently resenting, fell to quarrel; first in Words, and at last to Blows: When the *Saxons* upon a Sign agreed between them, drew out short Swords they had concealed under their upper Garments, fell upon the unarmed *Britains*, slew their whole number in the Field, who being the best and bravest of their Nation, left the rest exposed, without Heart or Head to the Fury and Progress of the *Saxon* Arms. These heartened with Success, and proud of
so

to great Possessions and Territories; invited and allured still greater Numbers of their own from abroad, who being of several Branches, and from several Coasts, arrived here under several Names; amongst whom the Angles from *Schonen* and *Futland*, swarmed over in such numbers, that they gave a new Name at length to this Province, which from them was called *Angle-land*, and for easier sound, *England*.

The *Saxons* pursued their Invasion with Courage and Fierceness, equal to the Multitudes of their Nation, that swarmed over into this Island, and with such an uninterrupted Course of Fortune and Victories, after the year 500. that by the end of the next Century, they had subdued the whole Body of the Province, and establish'd in
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it seven several Kingdoms, which were by the Writers of those Times, stiled the Heptarchy of the *Saxons*. They had expell'd the *Britains* out of the fairest and best of their ancient Possessions, and driven their greatest numbers, who escaped the Conqueror's Fury, into *Wales* and *Cornwal*, Countries mountainous and barren, encompass'd on three sides by the Sea, and towards the Land, of difficult Access. Some great Colonies of them, wholly abandoned their Native Country to their fierce Invaders, sailed over into the Northwest Parts of *France*, where possessing new Seats, they gave a new Appellation to that *Peninsula*, which preserves still the Name and Memory of *Britain* there, though about this time almost worn out at home.

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This is the Account commonly given of the *British* Colonies first establishing themselves in that Canton of *Gaul* ; But there is another given by some learned Persons of their own, and drawn, as they say, either from ancient Archives or Traditions among them, and which to me seems the most probable. When upon the *Roman* Wars in *Gaul*, among several Pretenders to the Empire, great numbers of the *Britains* as well as *Roman* Forces in that Island, were drawn over to assist the contending Parties. 'Tis said that very great Multitudes of the *British* having followed the unfortunate side, retired as fast as they could to that part of the Sea-coast nearest to their Isle, and most likely to furnish them with Ships for their Transportation ; But, that the mi-

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series of their Native Country from the furious inroads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, so discouraged their Return, that by Consent of the *Gauls* their Friends, they establish-
ed themselves in the furthest *North-west* Parts of that Province, which has since that time, retained their Language and their Name. And this agrees with the Legend of King *Arthur*, who is said to have been a young Prince or Leader, sent from the *Britains* in *France* to assist their Country-men here against the *Saxons*. Whatever the Beginnings of this Colony were, or at what time, 'tis at least agreed to have been much augmented by the Resort of so many *Britains*, as sought Refuge there from the *Saxon* Cruelty.

The weak and poor Remainers of the old *Britains*, who were scattered

tered among the *Saxons* in *England*, were wholly spoiled of their Lands and Goods, which were fallen under the Mercy of the Conquerors, who sharing them all among themselves, left the remaining *Britains* in a Condition of downright Servitude. They used them for Tilling Ground, Feeding Cattle, and other Servile Works, in House or Field, sometimes Farming out certain parts of Land to them, at certain Rents or Profits, but held always at the Will and Pleasure of the Landlord. The Children that were born of these miserable People, belonged to the Lord of the Soil, like the rest of the Stock or Cattle upon it; and thus began Villenage in *England*, which lasted till the time or end of *Henry* the Seventh's Reign.

Soon after the year 600. the Saxons in *England* having ended their old Quarrel with the *Britains*, began new ones among themselves; and according to the usual Circle of human Affairs, War ended in Peace, Peace in Plenty and Luxury, these in Pride; and Pride in Contention, till the Circle ended in new Wars. The *Saxon* Princes, of the seven Kingdoms they had erected in *Britain*, fell into Emulations of one anothers Greatness, Disputes about the Bounds of their several Principalities, or about Successions or Usurpations, pretended or exercised in one or other of them; These were followed by formal Wars among them, the stronger swallowing up the weaker, and these having recourse to their Neighbours, for defence against encroaching Power. Many
fierce

fierce Encounters, Sieges, Battels Spoils, and Devastations of Country, succeeded in the progress and decision of these mutual Injuries and Invasions between the *Saxon* Kings, for above two Hundred Years; but the account of them is very poorly given us, with little order or agreement of Times or Actions, by the few and mean Authors of those barbarous and illiterate Ages, and perhaps the rough course of those lawless Times and Actions, would have been too ignoble a Subject for a good Historian.

About the Year 830. after many various Events and Revolutions between the several Races of the Heptarchy, *Ecbert* descended from the *West-Saxon* Kings, having inherited most of the Successions from the Prowess and Exploits of

his Ancestors, and acquired others by his own, became the first sole King or Monarch of *England*, as it now was distinguished from the Principality of *Wales*, possessed by the old *Britains*, and from that part of the Island to the North of *Tweed*, possessed by the *Picts* and *Scots*, and by the *Saxons* stiled by one common Name of *Scotland*.

This famous Adventure of the *Saxons* in *England*, was atchieved by the Force and Confluence of such multitudes from the Coasts of *Germany*, which lie between the *Belgick* and *Baltick* Shores, that some parts of their Native Countries were left almost dispeopled, to fill again by new Swarms from the great Northern Hive, and the Number of *Saxons* and *Angles* *Jutes*, and other Nations that came over,

over, were not only sufficient to Conquer and Waste this whole Province, but even to Plant and People it soon again, with numerous and new Inhabitants. So as by them, succeeded in this Island, not only a Change of Government, as by the *Roman* Arms ; but a Change of the very People or Nation, that inhabited or possessed the Lands of this whole Province : This induced a Change likewise of Names, of Language, of Customs, of Laws, of Arms, of Discipline, of Possessions, of Titles of Religion, and even of the whole Face of Nature, through this whole Kingdom. So as we may justly date the Original of all these amongst us, as well as our Nation it self, from these our *Saxon* Ancestors : *Britain*, which was before a *Roman* Province, was

now grown a *Saxon* Kingdom ; and instead of its former Name was called *England* : the Language which was either Latin or British, was Now grown wholly Saxon or English ; The Land that was before divided into *Roman* Colonies or Governments, was so now into Shires, with Names given to them by the Saxons, as they first possessed, or afterwards thought fit to distinguish them.

The Habits in Peace, and Arms in War, the Titles of Officers in both as well as of great Counsellors to their Kings, or great Proprietors of Lands, came to be all according to the Saxon Forms and Usage. The Laws of this Country which before were *Roman*, changed now into Old Saxon Customs or Constitutions. Their Princes or Leaders of their several Nati-

Nations became *Konings* or Kings of the Territories, they had subdu'd. They reserv'd part of the Lands to themselves for their Revenue, and shar'd the rest among their *chief* Commanders, by great Divisions, and among their Soldiers by smaller shares. The first, who had the great Divisions, were called Earls or Barons, those of the smaller were Knights; and the smallest of all were Freemen, who possess'd some Proportions of Free Lands, and were thereby distinguish'd from the Villens, that held nothing but at the Will of the *Landlord*.

In this universal Transformation, Religion it self had a share, like all the rest, and receiv'd new Forms and Orders, with the new Inhabitants, whilst all that was *Roman* or *British*, expir'd together
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in this Country : The *Britains* began early to receive the Christian Faith ; and as is reported from some of the Disciples themselves : And this was so propagated among them, that when the *Romans* left the Province, they were generally Christians, and had their Priests and Bishops from that ancient and Apostolick Institution. The *Saxons* were a sort of Idolatrous Pagans that worshipped several Gods peculiar to themselves, among whom *Woden*, *Thor* and *Frea* were the chief, which left their Memory still preserved by the common names of three days in the Week : This Religious Worship they introduced with them, and continued long in *Engand*, till they subdued the *Britains*, reduced it under their Heptarchy of *Saxon* Kings, persecuted the *British* Christians, and drove

drove them with their Religion into *Wales*, where they continued under their Primitive Priests and Bishops, who with their Monks, were all under the Surintendance of one Arch-Priest or Bishop of *Carleon* or *Chester*, the Bound of the *British* Principality. About the year 600. or soon after, Pope *Boniface* sent *Austin* the Monk to Preach the Gospel in *England* to the Heathen *Saxons*, who landing at *Dover*, was received with Humanity by *Ethelbert* King of the South-*Saxons* ; and being admitted with four or five of his Companions, as well-meaning Men, to teach and explain the Doctrin and Mysteries of Christianity, among these ignorant and barbarous People, they so well succeeded, that they converted at first, great numbers of the common sort, and at length the

the King himself, whose example gave easie way for introducing the Christian Faith into his whole Kingdom, which from thence spread into all the Countries subject to the *saxon* Heptarchy. Thus Religion came to be Establish'd in *England*, under the Rites and Forms and Authority of the *Roman* Church; by which *Austin* was instituted chief Bishop in *England*, and seated by the *saxon* King at *Canturbury*. But this Jurisdiction though admitted in all the *Saxon* Territories, was not received by the *British* Priests or People in *Wales*, though endeavored by many missions from *Austin* and his Successors, and even by Wars and Persecutions of the *Saxons*, upon the Old *British* Christians; at the instigation of the New *Romish* Priests, in one of which near *Carleon*, Twelve Hundred

dred of the poor *British* Monks are said to have been slaughter'd, while they were apart in the Field at their Prayers for the success of the *British* Army.

With this Account of a new Face and State of Persons and Things, both *Natural*, *Civil*, and *Religious*, establish'd in *England*, I return to the Period I left, of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, which being extinguish'd by long and various Revolutions among themselves, made way for the Reign of *Ecbert*, the first sole King or Monarch of *England*, about the Year 830.

It might have been reasonably expected, that a wise and fortunate Prince, at the Head of so great a Dominion, and so brave and numerous a People, as the English, after the Expulsion of the

the *Picts* and *Scots* out of his Country into the rough Northern Parts, and of the *Britains* into the North-west Corners of the Island, should not only have enjoyed the Fruits of Peace and Quiet, but left much Felicity as well as Greatness, to many succeeding Generations, both of Prince and People. Yet such is the Instability of Human Affairs, and the Weakness of their best Conjectures, That *Ecbert* was hardly warm in his united Throne, when both he and his Subjects began to be alarmed and perplexed at the approach of new and unknown Enemies; and this Island exposed to new Invasions.

About this time, a mighty Swarm of the Old Northern Hive who had possessed the Seats about the Baltick (almost deserted by such numbers of *Goths*, *Vandals* and

and *Saxons*, as had issued out of them some Centuries before) began, under the Names of *Danes* and *Normans*, to infest at first the Sea, and at length the Lands of the *Belgick*, *Gallick*, and *British* Shores, filling all where they came with Slaughters, Spoils, and Devastations. The *Normans* first over-run the *Belgick* Provinces upon the Mouth of the *Rhine*, and gave new Names of *Holland* and *Zealand* to those parts adjacent to the Sea : Afterwards they sailed with mighty Numbers into the Mouth of the *Sean*, and with great fierceness subdued that Northern part of *France*; which from them first received, and ever since retained the Name of *Normandy*, and became the State of a great *Norman* Duke, and his Successors for several Generations.

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In the mean time, the *Danes* began their Inroads and furious Invasions upon the Coasts of *England*, with mighty numbers of Ships, full of fierce and barbarous People, sometimes entering the *Thames*, sometimes the *Humber*, other times Coasting as far as *Exeter*, Landing where ever they found the Shores unguarded, filling all with Ravage, Slaughter, Spoil, and Devastations of the Country; where they found any strong Opposition, retiring to their Ships, sailing home laden with Spoil; and by such encouragements, giving Life to new Expeditions the next Season of the Year. The bravest Blood of the *English* had been exhausted in their own Civil Wars, during the Contentions of the Heptarchy; since those ended, the
rest

rest were grown slothful with peace and with Luxury, softened with new Devotions of their Priests and their Monks, with Penances, and Pilgrimages, and great numbers running into Cloysters, and grown as unequal a Match now for the *Danes*, as the *British* had been for the *Saxons* before. Yet this Century passed not without many various Successes between the two Nations; many Victories and many Defeats on both sides, so that twelve Battels are said to have been Fought between them in one Year. The *Danes* divided their Force into several Camps, removed them from one part of the Country to another, as they were forced by necessity of Provisions or invited by hopes of new Spoils, or the weakness and divisions of the *English*:

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At length, fortified Posts and Passages, built Castles for Defence of Borders, one against the other, which gave the beginning to those numerous Forts and Castles that were scattered over the whole Country, and lasted so long, as to remain many of them, to this very Age. The *English* sometimes repulsed these Invasions, sometimes purchased the Safety of their Provinces by great Sums of Money, which occasioned great Exactions of their Kings upon the People, and that great Discontents; While the *Danes* encreasing still, by new Supplies of Numbers and Force, began to mingle among the Inhabitants of those parts they had subdued, made Truces and Treaties, and thereupon grew to live more peaceably under the Laws and Government of the *English* Kings.

Alfred,

Alfred, to prevent the danger of New Invasions, began to Build Ships for the Defence of his Coasts, and *Edgar* a Prince of great Wisdom and Felicity in his Reign, applying all his thoughts to the encrease and greatness of his Naval Forces, as the true strength and safety of his Kingdom, raised them to that height both of Numbers and Force, and disposed them with that Order, for the Guard of the Seas round the whole Island, as proved not only sufficient to secure his own Coasts from any new Invasions, but the Seas themselves from the Rovers and Spoilers of those Northern Nations, who had so long infested them : So that all Traders were glad to come under his Protection. Which gave a rise to that Right, so long claimed by the Crown of England, to the Dominion

minion of the Seas, about the year 960.

But these provisions for the safety of the Kingdom, began to decline with the Life of *Edgar*, and neglected in the succeeding Reigns, made way for new Expeditions of the *Danes*, who exacted new Tribute from the Kings, and Spoils from the Subjects, till *Ethelred* compounding with them for his own Safety, and their peaceable living in *England*, and fortifying himself by an Alliance with *Richard* Duke of *Normandy*, laid a design for the general Massacre of the *Danes*, spread abroad and living peaceably throughout the Realm, which was carried on with that secrecy and concurrence of all the *English*, that it was executed upon one day, and the whole Nation of the *Danes* massacred in *England* about the year 1002. This

This cruel and perfidious Massacre of so many Thousands, instead of ending the long miseries of this Kingdom from the Violences, Invasions and Intrusions of the *Danes*, made way for new and greater Calamities than before: For *Swane* King of *Denmark*, exasperated by the Slaughter of his Nation here, and among them of his own Sister, and animated by the Successes of so many private Expeditions; soon after landed with great Forces, formed several Camps of *Danes* in several parts of *England*, filled all with Spoil and Slaughter, forced *Ethelred* to fly for Relief into *Normandy*; and though he returned again, yet being a weak and cruel Prince, and thereby ill beloved, and ill obeyed by his Subjects, he never recovered Strength enough to oppose the Forces and

Numbers of the *Danes*, to whom many of the *English* Nobles, as well as Commoners, had in his absence submitted.

Swane died before he could achieve this Adventure, but left his Son *Canute* in a Course of such prosperous Fortunes, and the *English* so broken or divided, that coming out of *Denmark* with new Forces in two hundred Ships, he reduced *Edmund* Son of *Ethelred*, first to a Division of the whole Kingdom between them, and after his untimely Death, was by the whole Nobility of the Realm acknowledged and received for King of *England*. This fierce Prince cut off some of the Royal Line, and forced others into Exile, Reigned long, and left the Crown for two Successions to this *Danish* Race, who all swore to Govern the

the Realm by the Laws which had been established, or rather digested by *Edward* the First, and *Edgar*, out of the Old *Saxon* Customs and Constitutions. But *Hardecnute*, the last of the *Danish* Kings dying suddenly at a Feast in the year 1042. left the Race so hated, by the Imposition and Exaction of several Tributes upon his People, that *Edward* surnamed the Confessor, and Grandson to *Edgar*, coming out of *Normandy*, where he had been long protected, found an easie accession to the Crown, by the general Concurrence, both of Nobles and People, and with great Applause restored the *Saxon* Race in the year 1043.

Thus expired, not only the Dominion, but all Attempts or Invasions of the *Danes* in *England*; which though continued and often

renewed, with mighty numbers, for above two hundred years, yet left no change of Laws, Customs, Language, or Religion, nor other Traces of their Establishments here, besides the many Castles they built, and many Families they left behind them, who after the Accession of *Edward* the Confessor to the Crown, wholly submitting to his Government, and peaceably inhabiting, came to incorporate and make a part of the *English* Nation without any distinction.

Edward the Confessor Reigned long, reduced the Laws of *Edward*, *Alfred*, and *Edgar*'s Reigns into more Form and Order, and govern'd by them. His Wars were successful both in *Scotland* and *Wales*, though managed by his Leaders, and without his presence. But being a Prince of a soft and
easie

easie Nature, he gave way to the
 growing Power and Arrogance of
 Earl *Godwin*, and his Sons, who
 had been the chief Instruments of
 advancing him to the Throne, up-
 on the Condition of Marrying Earl
Godwin's Daughter. After he was
 settled in the Kingdom, either
 upon gratitude or inclination to
 the People and Customs of a
 Country where he had lived long
 and been well received when he
 was banished from his own: He
 invited many of his *Norman* Friends
 into *England*, employ'd them in
 his greatest Offices either of Church
 or State, and upon some quarrels
 between them and the *English*, ex-
 prest too much partiality to the
Normans: This gave *Godwin* and
 his Son *Harald*, occasion or pre-
 tence of raising and heading great
 Discontents of the *English* against
 the

the *Norman* Favorites, and at last Insurrections against the King ; who soft in his Nature, devout in his temper, and now declined in his Age, endeavoured rather to appease these troubles by Articles than by Arms, and thereby left *Harold* too powerful for a Subject, and aspiring to the Crown. *Edward* had no Children ; and though he seemed desirous to leave the Crown to his Nephew, yet distrusting his weakness to defend it against so powerful a Rival, it does not appear, or is not agreed among Authors, whether he made any disposition of it at his Death or no, or whether any such at least, as was afterwards pretended.

Harald alledged, that he was appointed by *Edward* the Confessor to succeed him, was believed by some, and allowed by more, who
fol.

followed his Power rather than his Right, and was immediately after the King's Death, elected or admitted to the Crown.

His first trouble was from his own Brother; who being the Elder, had obtained assistance from *Norway*, to set up a Title or Pretence to the Kingdom, though he could have no other, but that his Brother had usurped it. *Harald* having marched into the North, overthrown his Brother and his Army of Strangers or Discontents, with great slaughter at *Stamford*, was suddenly recalled by a more dangerous and fatal Storm from the South. For *William* Duke of *Normandy* surnamed the Conqueror, was landed at *Hastings* with a mighty Army of stout *Norman* Soldiers, to pursue a Right he pretended to the Succession of the Crown

Crown after the Death of *Edward*. What this was, is but obscurely proved or defended. But the pretext was, that *Edward* had by Testament left him Successor of the Crown ; and that *Harald* while he was last in *Normandy*, had likewise assured him of his Assistance to advance him to the Kingdom upon the Death of the King ; and the Duke therefore sent to put him in mind of that Engagement. But *Harald* was in possession, and admitted neither of these Claims, resolved to defend well what he had gotten ill, since the apparent Right was in *Edgar Atheling*, descended from the true *Saxon* Race, and from a Brother of *Edward* the Confessor. To decide these Disputes, between the two powerful Pretenders (while the just Right lay unregarded for want of Force to support

support it) a fierce and bloody Battel was Fought near *Hastings*, which continued for a whole day, with great Bravery and Slaughter on both sides ; but ended with the Death of *Harald*, most of the bravest Captains, and above Sixty Thousand Soldiers of the *English* Nation, who resolved to defend a Domestick Usurper against a Foreign Invader ; and by the loss of their Lives, made easie way for the undisputed Succession of *William* the Conqueror, to the Crown of *England* about the year 1066, or as some account, 1068.

This *Norman* Prince was Natural Son of *Robert* the Sixth Duke of *Normandy*, by *Arlette* a very Beautiful Virgin of *Falaize*, with whom he fell in love, as she stood gazing at her Door, whilst he passed through that Town ; So that he

was

was the Issue of a sudden and strong Inclination, like a noble Plant, raised in a hot Bed, which gave it such Force and Vigour, as made it prosper and grow to so great a Height: Nor is it unlikely that the ancient Heroes derived themselves from some Gods, to cover the Misfortunes or Follies, the Rapes or Loves of some fair Maidens, or else the Passions of some frail Wives, who loved a Gallant better than a Husband: And the force of such Encounters, might have Part in the Constitution of a young Hero, and give a Natural Vigor, Spirit, and Lustre to the Children from the Flames wherein they were conceived. 'Tis certain this young Conqueror owed his Greatness to his Birth, and his Fortunes to his personal Merit; from the strength of his Temper
and

and vigour of his Mind : For he had a Body of Iron, as well as a Heart of Steel ; Yet his Intellectuals were at least equal to his other natural Advantages, and he appears as Wise in his politick Institutions, as he was Bold in his Enterprises, or Brave and Fortunate in the Atchievment of his great Adventures.

His Father *Robert* growing Old, fell into a Fit of Devotion, frequent enough in that Age ; which made him resolve upon a Visit to the holy Sepulchre : His Nobles used all Arguments they could to dissuade him, but chiefly from the want of lawful Issue, and the Competition like to arise upon his Death, between several great Pretenders which might prove dangerous to his Country, and perhaps fatal to the *Norman State*. But
he

he persisted in the Design of his Journey, and told them he had a young Son that he believed certainly to be his own, and of whose Person and Disposition he had great Hopes, and therefore resolved to leave him his Successor in the Dutchy ; recommended him to their Care and Loyalty, and appointed the King of *France* to be his Guardian, and the Duke of *Britain* his Governour, who was one of the fairest Pretenders to the Succession of that Dutchy after the failing of *Robert's* Line ; An unusual Strain or Testimony of the good Faith and Meaning of that Age, where Honour was so much more in Request than Interest that such a Prince could trust a Son of reproached Birth and disputed Right to a powerful Neighbour, the likeliest to Invade him,
and

and to a Pretender that stood the fairest to contest his Title.

The Prince was not above Nine or Ten Years Old, when Duke *Robert* caused his Nobles and Chief *Norman* Subjects, to Swear Fealty to him, and afterwards carried him to do Homage to *Henry* the *First*, King of *France*, for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, according to the Custom of the former Dukes since their first accords with that Crown after their Conquests and Establishments in that Part of *France*, which was before called *Neustry*, and took the Name of *Normandy* from those fierce Invaders : These coming from the Coasts of *Norway* in Two several Expeditions with mighty Numbers of a Brave, but Barbarous People, had about Two Hundred Years before, first ravaged the

G Coasts

Coasts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, then entred the Mouth of the *Seine*, subjected the Country by unresisted Arms, then taking the City of *Rouen*, Capital of that Province, upon Composition, and made Inroads from thence into the Isle of *France*, and near *Paris* it self, with such Fury and Success, that the King of *France* embroiled then at home, thought fit to tame these Lyons, rather than longer to oppose them, and threw them that noble and fruitful Morfel of *Normandy*, to assuage their Hunger, yielding it up wholly to their Leader *Roul*, upon Conditions of his turning Christian, and his holding that Dutchy from the Crown of *France* for him and his Successors.

After these Ceremonies were past of the Homages received in *Normandy*, and given in *France* :
the

the old Duke *Robert*, delivered his young Son himself into the Hands and Tutelage of the *French* King, upon the Confidence of great Services he had formerly done him in Disputes about the Crown; and immediately after these Transactions, began his Voyage into *Asia*, where he lived not long, and left his Son to be the Founder of his own Fortunes, rather than Heir of his Fathers; which he found exposed to all sorts of Dangers from the tendernefs of his Age, the reproach of his Birth, a suspected Guardian, a disputed Title and a distracted State.

After the News of Duke *Robert's* Decease, the Nobles of *Normandy* by him intrusted with the Government during his Sons Minority, found themselves soon involved in many Difficulties, by the open

Factions of some Nobles, who envied their Greatness ; and by the private Practices of others, who being derived from some of the former Dukes, resolved to set up their Pretences to the Succession, but masqued their Designs at first, and herded with the common Discontents, against the present Administration. The Governours, faithful to the Trust reposed in them by the Father, and the Fealty they had sworn to the Son, esteemed the Presence of the young Prince necessary to support their Authority and his Title, and thereupon prevailed with the King of *France*, to send him into *Normandy* ; which he did accordingly, with great Honour to himself and Kindness to the young Duke, as well as Satisfaction to all his Loyal Subjects ; but to the Disap-
point-

pointment of those who pretend-
ed their Discontents rather against
the Governours, than the Suc-
cession.

No Prince ever came so early
into the Cares and Thorns of a
Crown, nor felt them longer, en-
gaged in Difficulties and Toils,
in Hardships and Dangers ; His
Life exposed to the Arms of Ene-
mies, and the Plots of Assassins :
His Reign embroiled by the Revolts
of his Subjects, the Invasions of
his Neighbours ; and his whole
Life, though very long, spent in
the necessary and dangerous De-
fence of his own Title and Domi-
nion, or in the ambitious Designs
of acquiring greater : Yet none
ever surmounted all with more
Constancy of Mind, Prudence of
Conduct and Felicity of Fortune ;
by all which he seems born to

have been rather a great Prince, than a happy Man.

His first Contests and Dangers, arose from the declared Competition of the Pretenders to the Sccefion of the Dutchy, who favoured by the Defects of his Birth, and grounding their Title upon their own legitimate Descent ; found so many Followers at home, and such Assistance from some neighbouring Princes, that agreeing together against the present Possessor, though disputing among themselves upon their own Rights, they raised great Forces, and constrained the young Duke to appear, not only at the Head of his Counsels, but of his Armies too, by that time he was full seventeen Years old.

These civil Wars continued long with many various Successes, bloody Encounters, defeating and recruiting

cruiting of Troops, surprizing, sack-
 ing, besieging, relieving of Towns,
 and waſting of Countries, till at
 laſt, the Duke by his Vigilance,
 Prudence, Courage, and Induſtry,
 ſubdued totally, not only the For-
 ces but the Hearts of all his Compe-
 titors and Enemies at home, and
 forced them to quit both *Normandy*
 and *France*, and ſeek new Fortunes,
 or at leaſt Protection in *Italy*, un-
 der the Banners and ſervice of thoſe
 Northern Princes, who had firſt by
 aſſiſting their Friends, and then pur-
 ſuing their own fortunes, made
 themſelves Maſters of *Apulia*, *Gala-*
bria, and *Sicily*. So great was the Prow-
 eſs and Conduct of thoſe brave *Nor-*
man Adventurers, that from *Prubans*,
 as the *French* called them, becauſe
 they could not ſtay at home, but
 left their own Country to ſeek
 Room in foreign and diſtant Regi-
 ons,

ons, they became Possessors and Sovereigns, in less than two hundred Years of one noble Dutchy in *France*, a great Kingdom in the best Parts of *Italy*, and a greater yet, and more renowned in the British Isle, and thereby exchanged the savage Woods and barren Mountains of *Norway* for three of the fruitfullest, fairest and most pleasant Countries in the Western Parts of *Europe*, and which had been observed both before and since, to produce the bravest Bodies and Courages of any Provinces among their Neighbour Nations.

The Defeats and final Overthrow of Competitors at home, gave Duke *William* no long Quiet, for another appeared from abroad more dangerous than any of the former: this was *Martel* Earl of *Anjou*, who was not only a Prince of great Possessi-

sessions, but yet more formidable, by the Alliance and Assistance of the King of *France*, who jealous of the Norman Greatness, thought it both wise and just to prevent its further Growth, and abate a Neighbour's Power, before it grew too high, and perhaps out of his Reach, by the Conduct, Ambition, and Fortune of such an aspiring Prince.

To this end, and upon small Pretences (which never fail a strong Invader) he encouraged, if not set on foot the Earl of *Anjou's* Pretensions to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, gave him first his Countenance and Assistance, to justify his Claim and pursue it by Arms; but by degrees engaged in an open and declared War against the Duke: this he prosecuted with much Passion and Violence, imploying in it not only

only all the Forces he could raise, but his own Person to command them, attended by many the chief Nobles of his Kingdom, and many great Persons of his Allies.

Duke *William* lost nothing of his Temper or Courage upon the Approaches of so great a Storm, but prepared first for his Defence, till he fought with Success in many Encounters, and trusting to the Bravery and Affections of his Army, though much inferior to the *French*, he brought the Quarrel to the Decision of two fierce Battels in two pitched Fields: The first ended in an entire Victory on the Duke's side, with the Slaughter of three Parts of his Enemies, amounting to above thirty thousand Men: This Loss however rather enraged than discouraged the King of *France*, who gave himself or his Enemies

Enemies no Quiet, till he engaged,
 the *Normans* in a second Battel, with
 greater Forces and Rage on both
 sides, but with the same Success
 the former had ended. In this Field
 the King of *France* lost the Flower
 of his Army, the greatest part of
 his Nobles, and hardly escaped
 himself in Person. But that little
 availed this unfortunate Prince,
 who was so sensible of the Loss,
 and as he thought, dishonour re-
 ceived by so unequal a Match, that
 he had not the Heart to survive it
 long, but died of Grief, and there-
 by gave an end to this War, and
 left Duke *William* a calm and peace-
 able Reign, till he disturbed his
 own and his Neighbours Quiet,
 by new and greater Adventures.
 But to discover their Causes and
 judge better of the Events, we
 must have recourse to the Acci-
 dents

dents of the former Reigns, both in *England* and *Normandy*, and the great Commerce and Intelligences that were thereby grown for many years past, between these two Courts and Nations.

Edward, for his Piety, surnamed the Confessor, the last King of the *Saxon* Race in *England*, had by the Persecution of his Enemies under the Reign of *Harde-Cnute* the *Dane*, been forced to leave *England* and seek shelter in *Normandy*, where he was kindly received, nobly entertained by the Duke, lived long there with many English; who adhered to his Right, followed his Fortunes, and shared in the Causes and Reliefs of his Banishment; some found Employments, others Alliances, All, Favour and kind reception in *Normandy*. These mutual good Offices, produced so much

much kindness between the Givers and Receivers, that 'tis by some Writers reported, King *Edward* during his Residence in the *Norman* Court, promised Duke *Robert*, that in case he recovered the Kingdom of *England*, and died without Issue, He would leave him the Crown. The first happening, and *Edward* restored by the Power of Earl *Godwin*, or rather the general Discontents of the English against the Danish Race and Government; 'Tis certain, King *Edward* after his Restoration or rather first Accession to the Crown, ever appeared more favourable and partial to the *Normans*, than was well resented by his English Subjects in general; but Earl *Godwin* and his Son *Harald* were so offended, that they made it the Cause or Pretence of a dangerous Insurrection, and were forced

forced upon the ill Success thereof, to leave the Kingdom, and fly into *Flanders*, though after restored and received by the King, rather by Force than any free and willing Consent.

Duke *William* after the end of his Wars with *France*, had turned his Thoughts to the common Arts and Entertainments of Peace, regulating the Abuses of his State, and the Disorders introduced by a long Course of Wars and Violence, adorning his Palaces and Houses of Pleasure, building Churches and Abbies, and endowing them with great Bounty and Piety : After which he made a Journey into *England*, where he was received and entertained by King *Edward* with the same Kindness himself had found in the *Norman* Court ; for which, like a good Prince he was
 much

much pleased to make this Return of Gratitude as well as Justice. In this Visit, 'tis said by some Authors that the Duke gained so far upon the Esteem and Kindness of the King, that he then renewed to the Son in *England*, the promise he had formerly made the Father in *Normandy*, of leaving him the Crown by Testament, in case he died without Issue.

Some time after the Duke's return, *Harald* Son to Earl *Godwin*, and Heir of his great Possessions and Dependances in *England*, was forced by a Storm (as he at least pretended) upon the Coasts of *Normandy* ; and to refresh himself after the Toils and Dangers of his Sea Voyage, went first to the *Norman* Court, and after some stay there, to that of *France* ; and was in both entertained like a Person,
known

known to be of so great Confidence and Power in *England*, But his last Visit at *Paris* was thought designed only to cover the true Intention of his first in *Normandy*; Where he engaged to assist that Duke with all his Friends and Force in his Claim to the Crown of *England* upon King *Edward's* Death; which happening not long after, *William* claimed the Crown by virtue of a Testament from that King, and an Engagement from *Harald*: But he on the contrary, denied any such Testament from the deceased Prince, alledged an Appointment made by him at his Death for *Harald* to succeed him, disowned any Promise made in Favour of the Duke, and making the best use of the Credit and Authority gained by his Father and himself, in a crasie and diseased State, during

during the soft Reign, of a weak though pious King ; *Harald* set up boldly for himself, without any respect of Right, beyond the Peoples submission (interpreted for their Consent) and was Elected King, by those Nobles and Commons of his Friends, or indifferent Persons, who assembled at his Coronation, leaving to *Edgar Atheling* an undoubted, but yet unregarded Right of Succession ; and to *William*, a disputed Plea, from the alledged Testament of the deceased King.

The Duke fond of those ambitious Hopes he had framed early, and nourished long, and spighted at the perfidious dealing of *Harald* towards him, and his Insolence towards the English Nation, in seizing the Crown and Government, against all Justice, or so much as Pretence of Right (which is com-

H monly

monly made use of to cover the most lawless Actions) assembles his Estates of *Normandy*, exposes to them his Claim to *England*, the Wrong done him by *Harald*, his Resolutions of prosecuting both with his utmost Power : The Glory as well as Justice of the Enterprise ; The hopes of Success from his own Right, and the hatred in *England* of the Usurper, as well as the Friends and Intelligences he had in that Kingdom ; The greatness of Spoils and Possessions, by the Conquest of his Enemies, and the Share he intended his Friends and Followers, according to each Man's Merit, and Contribution towards the Advancement of his Designs.

Though the generality of the *Normans* in this Assembly, were not at first very much moved by these

these Discourses, as either doubting the Right or Success of so hazardous an Adventure ; yet they could not discourage what they were unwilling to promote, since they found the Prince had it so much at Heart ; who prevailed with several of the greatest Bishops and Nobles of *Normandy*, to make him a voluntary Offer of what Moneys, Men, and Ships, they would each of them furnish towards this Enterprize, as well as of their own Personal Attendance upon him, in so noble and just a Design.

This free and magnanimous Offer of the greatest among them, in some Degree spirited not only the rest of the Assembly, but had much Influence upon the People in general, who grew Confident of the Success from the Greatness

and boldness of the Undertakers, so as they fell into Emulation, who should Engage soonest, and Contribute furthest upon this Occasion.

The Duke, assisted to his Expectation by his Subjects, began to practice upon the Hopes and Ambition of his Neighbours, who weary of the long Quiet they had lived in at home, since the Part they had taken in the *French* and *Norman* Wars, begun to grow fond of some new Action, and to look out for new Adventures.

The Duke had gained and deserved so high Esteem and general Reputation by the wise Conduct of his Government, both in Peace and in War, by his Justice and Bounty, his Valour and his Clemency, that he was renowned, not only among his Subjects and his Neighbours but in the remoter
Re-

Regions of *Germany* and *Italy* ; and found a Concurrence in this Design, from many Princes his Friends, and some who had been his greatest Enemies ; He was favoured and assisted with Money or with Soldiers, by the Dukes of *Britain* and of *Brabant*, the Counts of *Bologne* and *Flanders*, and his ancient Competitor the Earl of *Anjou* : By many Princes of *France*, the most considered in that Court, as the Duke of *Orleans*, Earls of *Poitou* and *Maine*, excited by the Honour of the Enterprize, or Fame of the Leader, at a time when the Infancy of their King gave them no hopes of Action at home, and left that Crown unconcerned in what passed abroad. The Emperor sent some choice Troops, and experienced Commanders to serve in this Expedition ; and the Pope,

induced by the Fame of this Duke's great Virtues, and Piety in the whole Course of his Reign, which had now lasted above Forty Years, sent him a Banner he had blessed with several Reliques ; and thereby was esteemed, according to the Devotion of those Times, to have justified his Title, and even sanctified his Arms.

With all these Advantages this brave Duke began and finished his mighty Preparations, by a general Concurrence of his own Nobles and Subjects, and a Confluence of most of the bold adventurous Spirits in his Neighbour Provinces, led by the Desires of Glory or of Gains ; The Princes, trusted his Faith and his Promises which he had never forfeited : The Knights and Soldiers, relied upon his Valour and his Fortune, which had
never

never failed in the long and happy course of his Reign.

What the Number was of the Army he brought over into *England*, is not distinctly related, or well agreed ; but must be concluded to have been very great, by that of the Ships wherein they were imbarqued, which were between Eight and Nine Hundred : Besides, they were all chosen and brave Troops, excellently Disciplined , Commanded by gallant Officers, strongly united by the Love of their Prince, and encouraged by the common hatred of *Harald* his Enemy, both at home and abroad : A known Usurper, cruel in his Nature, of *Danish* Extraction and thereby ungrateful to the English ; a Hater of his own Blood, and who had never triumphed but over his own Brother ;

and by a bloody Victory at *Stamford*, had lost the bravest of his Troops, as he had done before the Hearts of his Subjects.

The Duke Landed his Army at *Hastings* in *Sussex*, about the beginning of *October*; and expecting a general Submission of the English to his Right and Title (pretended from the Testament of *Edward* the Confessor) or the Desertion of *Harald* (as an Usurper) by his own Army; He made at first no show of invading a Hostile Countrey, but rather of encamping in his own. Forbidding all injuries to any of the Inhabitants; and all Spoil of the Countrey about him: And so continued with his whole Army in a quiet and peaceable manner for about a Fortnight, either to refresh his Troops, or to expect how his Claim to the Crown,

Crown, and Arrival upon it, would be received in *England*.

But after this Time expired, he was soon roused by the Approach of *Harald*, who returned from the Defeat of his Brother, and his *Danish Assistants*, with all the Forces he had employed in that Expedition, and all he could invite or collect out of the Countrey as he passed. The first were standing Troops, Numerous and Brave, which he kept for the defence of his Person and Title, knowing they were both generally hated in *England*. The last were ill disciplined, and worse affected, and served only to increase the number of his Army, which was very great.

Upon approach of his Enemies he sent Spies into the *Norman Camp*, who were taken, and courteously

teously used by the Duke; carried through all his Troops, shewed their Discipline and Disposal, and sent back with Rewards. At their return they told *Harald*, that the *Normans* looked rather like an Army of Priests than of Soldiers, by their great Silence and Order in their Camp as well as by their Faces being all shaved.

'Tis said the Duke before the Battel, sent an Offer to *Harald*, to decide the Quarrel between them by single Combat, and thereby spare their Subjects Blood: Which *Harald* refused, and said he would leave it to God to determine. Upon which, his Brother desired him that he would not be present at the Battel, because he had formerly Sworn to Duke *William* to assist his Title upon King *Edward's* Death; and rather leave it to them,
who

who had a juster Cause ; and should Fight only for Defence of their Country and without Breach of Oath. But the Courage of *Harald* was more than his Conscience, and so both parts disposed their Armies for a pitched Battel next Morning : After the English had passed the Night in Songs and Feasting, and the *Normans* in much Devotion.

The Fight began with great Fury, and equal Bravery as well as Order on both sides. The English were cruelly gauled by thick Showers of Arrows from the *Norman long Bows*, before the Battel joyned ; which was a Weapon then unused in *England*, and thereby the more surprising by Wounds coming from Enemies so far out of reach, and not suddenly to be revenged. But when they came up to close Fight, the *Normans* were hewed down by
the

the *English Bills*, which of all Weapons give the most gashly and deplorable Wounds. Besides, their Points were so strong and so close together, that no Charges of the *Norman Horse* could break the *English Ranks*, though the Duke assaulted them so often, and with so great Bravery, that he had three Horses killed under him in the Attempt. But finding them continue firm, He at length by a Signal, caused a sudden Flight to be feigned by his *Normans* that were most advanced : Upon which, the *English* easily deceived by their own Courage as well as Hopes, began such an eager Pursuit, as by it they dissolved their Ranks that had been otherwise impenetrable. Upon this Incident before expected, and soon discovered by the Duke, and upon no other Signal given, the *Normans*

re-

returned with greater Fury than before ; broke into the disordered body of the English , routed and pursued them to a rising Ground, where their broken Forces made a Stand, fell again into Order, and encouraged by the Speeches, but more by the brave Example of *Harald*, they renewed the Fight, and made a mighty Slaughter of the *Normans* as they endeavoured to force them against the disadvantage of the Hill which they defended.

The Fierceness and Obstinacy of this memorable Battel, was often renewed by the Courage of the Leaders wherever that of the Souldiers began to faint ; till the *Normans* leaving the Assault of the Hill, too obstinately defended, and keeping a little distance, fell again to their Arrows, with one of which, *Harald* was shot quite through

through the Head, and fell to the Ground; And by his Death gave the Victory and the Field to the *Normans*, which had hitherto continued doubtful on both sides: and seemed thus far to have been Fought with equal Courage and with equal Loss. But the Flight of the *English* upon *Harald's* Fall, soon determined it, and was followed by a long and bloody pursuit of the *Normans*, which continued till Night; and left mighty Numbers of the English slain in their Flight that had been safe in the Battel, and the rest of them wholly dispersed, though covered by the Night: So different are the effects of Courage and of Fear, and so Just the Rewards of both; the first, which seeks dangers often avoids them; the other, often runs into them, by endeavouring to escape

escape them : Much greater numbers falling in all Battels, by the pursuit of those that fly, than by the Slaughter of those that Fight.

Nothing seems to show the greatness of *England*, so much at this time, as that *Harald* should be able to assemble so mighty an Army, to oppose this Invasion ; And find above Threescore Thousand Men, Brave enough, not only to Fight but to lose their Lives in his defence : For so many are agreed to have been slain of the English at this Battel of *Hastings* : where he lost his Crown and his Life together, and left the Field with the Kingdom, to this brave Norman Conqueror. This was the Man, These the Forces, and such the Circumstances that contributed to so famous an Enterprise, by which the Fate of *England* was

was determined, in or about the Year 1066.

The Duke after this famous Victory, resolved not to lose the Fruits and advantages he had thereby gained, (which is often done) for want of Speed or Vigour in the Prosecution, wherein Celerity is sometimes of more Consequence than Force. Therefore, after the Pursuit of his broken Enemies, and a short Refreshment of his own Army ; He began immediately his March towards *London*, where was all the Strength then left in the Kingdom, believing if he could be Master of the Head, the rest of the Body would follow, without more Struggle or Resistance.

In his March he is said to have exercised much Cruelty, towards all he found in Arms, with great Rigour and Oppression upon the
other

other Inhabitants, and Spoil of the Country where he passed, till entering into a Woody Part of *Kent*, and advancing with his Vanguard before the rest of his Army ; he found himself almost environed with mighty Numbers of the *Kentish Men*, who had concealed themselves in the Wood by carrying every Man a great Bough of a Tree like a Shield in his Hand. But when they saw the *Norman Troops*, and the Duke at the Head of them, within their Danger, they began on a sudden to march like a moving Wood, till approaching their Enemies, they threw down their Boughs, and discovered on all Sides a Multitude of brave armed Men, ready to charge the *Normans* that stood surpris'd and amazed at the Strangeness of the Sight, which appeared as if a Wood had been by

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some Enchantment, transformed into an Army : But the *Kentish Men* approaching, made a Halt, and sent the Abbot of St. *Austins*, to tell the Duke, that all the Men of that Province were there assembled to defend their Country and their Liberties, or to sell their Lives as dear as they could ; that if he would swear to preserve them in those ancient Laws and Customs, under which they and their Ancestors had so long lived ; they were all ready to lay down their Arms, and become his Subjects ; if not, he must prepare to fight with Men that had resolved to lose their Lives rather than their Liberties and Laws. The Duke finding he was too far advanced to joyn the Body of his Army before he engaged, and unwilling to venture all his Fortunes and Hopes against
such

such numerous Bands as these appeared, and of so desperate Men, granted to all the Inhabitants of the Province of *Kent*, the Preservation and free Enjoyment of all their ancient Laws and Customs under the *Saxon Reigns* ; swore the Observance of his Grant, received their Homage, and so pursued his March. This is represented as a forc'd Prelude to a subsequent voluntary Act of this Prince, whereby he made or confirmed the same Concession, in general to all the rest of the Kingdom. And though this Adventure of the *Kentish Men* be not recorded with great Evidence of Truth or Agreement of Circumstances or of Time (for some Writers place it before his first Arrival at *London*, others after, and upon an Expedition to reduce the Castle of *Dover*) yet it is related by so ma-

ny Authors, and is so generally received by a vulgar Tradition, that it seems not to be omitted : But when, or however it happened, or whether at all or no, is not material to the History of this Prince, or to the following Actions or Institutions of his Reign.

In the City of *London*, besides the great Numbers and Riches of the Inhabitants, were retired most of the great Nobles of the Kingdom, both Ecclesiastical and Secular, who had not been engaged in Action of either Side, and attended, what could be the Issue of this strong and Violent Conclusion of the State. Upon Decision of the last Battel, they all consulted together with the Citizens, what was best to be advised and done for their common Interest and Safety, as well as of the whole Kingdom, which

which was like to run their Fate, by following their Example: Many of the secular Nobles were for collecting what Forces they could, and making a stand either in the Field or in the Town, and thereby trying their Fortunes, or at the worst making Conditions, for they could not bear, that their great Possessions and Lands should lie at the Mercy of a Prince, whose Will might be as boundless as his Power; and who had so great a Train, to be rewarded at their Cost, and by the Spoils, if he pleased, of the whole Kingdom.

The *Citizens* feared the hostile Entrance of an incensed Army, upon a weak Resistance, and the sudden Loss of their Possessions which consisting chiefly in Movables, might be seized in a Day, and dissipated, past any Recovery by

the very Grace of the Prince, or succeeding Composition between him and the rest of the Kingdom: They thought no Forces could be collected, either in Time upon so sudden an Approach, or with Strength enough to make Opposition in a Body that had lost so much Blood, and without a Head to command them,] or upon any Treaty to manage their common Interests to the best advantage, and so they were disposed to submit to what they esteemed the Fate of the Kingdom: The Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy were a sort of State apart, within the State it self, having no Jurisdiction independent (as they pretended and were usually allowed in that Age) upon the secular Power; they held their Lands and Possessions in the Kingdom, by another

ther Tenure than the Laiety pretended, and feared not to lose them under any Prince that was a Christian, which made them more indifferent of what Race, or by what Title he held the Crown, and so more easie to fall in with the Stream of any Changes or new Revolutions : Besides, they were possess'd with the Fame of this Prince's Piety, and the Opinion of his Right having been determined by the Pope's approving and assisting it with his Benediction : They thought, as well as the Citizens, that this Torrent was not to be resisted, that a faint and fruitless Opposition would but exasperate the Duke, and make him continue as well as begin his Reign, like a Conqueror, and therefore esteemed the wisest Part, was to acknowledge his Right, and thereby tempt

or perswade him into a safer and easier Form of Government, both for himself and his Subjects, as a just and lawful King.

The Clergy was in very great Authority at this Time, and among all sorts of People in the Kingdom, having enjoyed and exercised it here, during the whole Course of the *Saxon* Reigns, after those Kings became Christians in this Island; nor could any other Authority rise so high, and spread so far, as growing from so many Roots: They were allowed to be the Guides and Instructors of Mankind in all spiritual Worship and Divine Service, and even the Dispensers of those Graces and Forfeitures upon which depended the Rewards or Punishments of a future State; which being greater and longer than those of this Life,
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gave them more Influence upon the Minds of Men, than any secular Jurisdiction that can extend no further : They had mighty Possessions in Lands throughout the Kingdom, as well as other Riches, from the Bounty of pious Princes, of devout and innocent People and from many others, who thought to expiate Crimes, or cover ill Lives by these kinds of Donation to the Church. These Possessions were esteemed sacred ; and, as much went into this Stock every Age, that nothing ever went out ; and all the Lands in the Kingdom might in the Course of Ages, have held of the Church, if this Current had not been stopped by the Statute of *Mortmain* in the Time of *Edward* the first. 'Tis recorded, that of sixty two thousand Knights all that were reckoned in *England* during

ring the Reign of this first *Norman King*, there were in that of King *John* twenty eight thousand in the Hands of the Church. This gave the Clergy (by the Dependences of those that held under them in so great Numbers) a secular Power annexed to their Ecclesiastical Authority. They had besides, all the little Learning which was in those ignorant Ages, and passes for Wisdom among those who want both, gives a Felicity, at least of discouraging, though perhaps not of judging better than others, and gains more Attention, and easier Applause from vulgar Auditors: Lastly, they were united more than any other State upon one common bottom, and in pursuit of one common Interest, which was always pretended to be the Greatness of the holy Church, but indeed was their own

own, and the Honours, Power, and Riches of the Church-men, rather than of the Church. By these Circumstances, and the Advantage of such a complicated Strength, the Clergy came to such an Authority, that they were Arbiters, if not of all Affairs, at least of all Contests in the Kingdom, and turned the Balance which way soever they fell in; were still applied to by the weaker and often by the unjust Side; had the chief Sway and were the chiefest Instruments in all those many Revolutions of State, irregular Successions, and even Usurpations of the Crown that happened between the Time of the Conquest, and the Reign of *Henry* the third; which may easily be observed and cannot easily be wondered at by all who read the Story of those Reigns, and consider what has been said up-
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on this Subject, important enough to excuse this Digression.

But to return to our Conqueror; upon his March to *London*, and the Consultations there how to receive him; the Opinions and Councils of the Bishops and Ecclesiasticks easily prevailed, and seemed to have had more Reason, as well as Authority, than the rest: So it was unanimously resolved, not only to submit to a Power they could not oppose, but to acknowledge a Title they would not dispute. The Duke upon his Approach to the City, was received with open Gates and open Arms, at least without the Appearance of any Reluctance or Discontent, any more than of Resistance: He claimed the Crown at his Arrival, by the Testament of King *Edward* the Confessor, without any mention of

of Conquest, which was infinitely grateful to all the Nobles and Commons of the Realm, whether it was a strain of his own Prudence and good natural Sense, or a Perswasion of those *English*, who had either assisted or invited his Invasion, or Apprehension of so great and brave a People, if offended by the Name of Conquest, and irritated by the Dangers or Fears of a lawless Arbitrary Power, to which they had not yet their Hearts or Strength broken enough, easily to submit.

He was crowned King at *Westminster* by the Arch-bishop of *York*, who with *Stigand* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, had been the great Promoters of those Councils, by which he entred upon so peaceable a Beginning of his Reign. At his Coronation he took the Oath, usual
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in the Times, both of the *Saxon* and *Danish Kings*, which was, To protect and defend the Church to observe the Laws of the Realm, and to govern his People justly : After which he caused Fealty to be sworn to him by all the Bishops, Barons, and Nobles, with the Magistrates of the City, who had assisted or attended at his Coronation, and thereupon found himself on a sudden settled in a calm and quiet Possession of a Crown he had so long aspired to, and so lately won by one single though violent Blow.

This King was about two and Fifty years old upon his Accession to this Crown, and is perhaps the only Instance found in Story, either before or since, in this Island or the rest of the World, that began and atchieved any great and famous Enterprize after that Age :
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Whether the Decline of Nature leaves not Vigor enough for such Designs or Actions ; or Fortune, like her Sex, have no Kindness left for old Men, how much soever she favoured them when they were young: But the Talents of Age, which are Prudence and Moderation, learnt best in the School of Experience, and seldom joyned if consistent with the warm Passions of Youth, were now as necessary to this Prince for the Conservation of his Kingdom, as his long industrious Application and bold Execution had been for acquiring it, and how much he excelled in these Qualities will be seen by the Sequel of his Reign.

He considered very wisely, that though he had gained the Crown by the Assistance of foreign Forces, and by the Decision of Arms,
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yet these might not always be so prosperous if too often tried, and the Number or Strength of his Foreigners, bore no proportion to those of so brave and populous a Nation, if they should unite on any Bottom of common Discontents, of Dangers or of Fears, and that the Safety and Peace of his new acquired Dominion could be preserved only by the general Satisfaction and Security of his *English Subjects* : And this was his first Care, and was the best provided for by the two first Actions of his Reign; one was, that as he had claimed the Crown, only from the Testament of King *Edward*, and wholly avoided that odious Name of Conquest, so he expressed upon all Occasions his Resolution to govern the Kingdom as a legal Prince, and leave the ancient Laws and Liberties

ties of the *English Nation*, as they had before enjoyed them : The other was, that as he drew no Blood but what was spilt in the Field, so he seised only the Lands and Estates of those who had been in Arms against him, before his Accession to the Crown or after that Time, by any Revolt or new Oppositions.

This wise Counsel made a clear and sudden Distinction between those *English* that were to feel any ill Effects by this late Revolution, and the rest who were left out of Danger, and in the same State they enjoyed under the Race of their former lawful Kings, and so but little sensible of the Change : The forfeited Estates and Lands were indeed seised with great Severity, but the greatest Part of the Proprietors were silent in the Grave,

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having been slain in the Battel of *Hastings*, and Pursuit of that Victory, those who remained alive, being at once despoiled of all their Possessions, were broken in their Hearts, maimed in their Interest among their Neighbours, and being but few throughout the Kingdom, in Comparison of those that were safe, their Losses or Complaints were little regarded by the rest, but like wounded Deer, were deserted and even avoided by the Herd.

Upon the Coronation of the King at *London*, with the Concurrence of Nobles and People in that City, and his Care in publishing throughout the several Countries; these two Resolutions concerning the Safety of their Properties and Laws : All the Inhabitants of both the adjacent and remoter Counties, and of what Degree soever, not only

ly with universal Consent, submitted to his Government as to a Decree of Heaven, but most of them began to express, or at least pretend a common Joy at the Fate of the late Usurper, and the prosperous Fortunes of the present King.

His next Care was the Satisfaction of those many and brave Adventurers and Soldiers, who had followed him in this Expedition, which he endeavoured to make with Justice to his Promises, and to their several Merits, as far as the forfeited Lands and Revenues would Reach, or any Treasures or Debts he found here belonging to the Crown; The Lands of the *English Barons* who had opposed him, he divided among the *Norman Barons* that had attended him; those of the Commoners among the Soldiers, what Offices were vacant,

he supplied with such as he had not Lands or Money to reward ; such of the *Normans* as he could not clear Accounts with at present by any of these Ways, he distributed into the rich and numerous Abbeys of the Kingdom, to be there entertained till new Employments should fall, or new Forfeitures or new Supplies should come into the King's Coffers by the large Revenues of the Crown, or the wise Management of his Treasures, which had always been a Virtue of this Prince and exercised in his lower Fortunes, as far as could agree with the Bounty of his Nature, towards those who deserved it by their Merits or their Services.

The Provision he made for so many poor *Normans*, by disposing them among the rich Monasteries to share in their Plenty, seemed at least

least a temporary Impolition upon the Clergy, and a Breach of those Immunities they had enjoyed in the *Saxon Reign* : For though one chief End of the large Donations made by so many Princes and pious Subjects to the Church, was intended for charitable Uses, by Relief of the Poor, and the hospitable Entertainment of Passengers, Pilgrims, and Strangers, yet this Use was left voluntary, and at the Choice of those who possessed these Revenues : The *Normans* sent among them were indeed Strangers and poor, but yet the most charitable Monks had little Mind to relieve them, or if they had, were not willing to receive them within their Convents, to be not only Sharrers of their Provisions, but Observers of their Actions ; however they complied at present with the

Desires of the King or the Necessity of the Times, yet they generally took it ill of the King, and for a Diminution of those Immunities, or of that Favour they had enjoyed under former Reigns: Some thought he had an envious Eye at the vast Riches of the Clergy; others, that he was jealous of their Power, and suspected their Affections to his Person and Government, and apprehended as easie a Change among them, upon the Approach of any new Revolution as they had shewed upon the last, in his own Favour. That for these Reasons he had dispersed his *Normans* as so many Guards, or at least, as so many Spies among them: Whatever it was, 'tis certain this Action bred the first Unkindness of the Clergy towards this King; and being followed by two other

other strains of the same Nature (which will be observed in their time) left an Imposition upon his Memory, of Hardship, Cruelty, Oppression, or Exaction, which he deserved as little as other Princes that have a fairer Character in Story and common opinion. For the Monks having been the only Writers remaining of those Times, as well as some succeeding Reigns, have left a Tincture of their Passions upon the Actions of the first Kings of this *Norman Race*, and painted their Virtues and Vices in fairer or fouler Colours according to the Ideas they had framed of them and their several Dispositions or Actions in Favour or Prejudice of the Church, that is, of Ecclesiastical Persons or Privileges: Such an Authority have the Pens of learned Writers, always

claimed and possessed, as to pass the definitive Sentence upon the Memories of the greatest Princes in the vulgar Opinion of Posterity. Nor is it evident whether the invidious Name of Conqueror which this King had so carefully avoided, were entailed upon him by the Flattery of his Friends or the Malice of his Enemies, among whom, the Monkish Writers seem to have been the chief and most inveterate.

Whatever Motions were raised upon this Occasion in the Minds of the Clergy, none appeared in the rest of the Body of the Realm, or Mass of the People, most were satisfied because they either liked their new King, or hated the last Usurper; some were indifferent to both, while their Estates and Liberties were out of Danger, and such

such who were displeased with either, disguised their Resentment, or were not taken notice of in the Crowd. All conspired to make so great a Calm succeed in the Kingdom, as is usual after a great Storm is over ; That the King having passed some Months here in the Cares and for the Settlement of his new Dominions in *England*, made a Journey to visit his old in *Normandy*, about the beginning of the Summer, having been crowned at *Westminster* on *Christmas-Day*.

Whether this was undertaken upon any Necessity of his Affairs on that side, or to settle them so as not to interrupt him here, where he intended to reside, is not known ; or whether he took a Pleasure and a Pride to show both his Subjects and his Neighbours Princes, how secure he esteemed himself in his
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new acquired Dominions ; but it looks like a Strain of his usual Boldness and fearless Temper, and succeeded well, like the rest of his Counsels and Resolutions ; yet was not this Journey undertaken without Prudence and Caution, in the Choice of those Hands with whom he left the Government in his absence, and of those Persons he engaged to accompany him in the Voyage. He committed the Rule of the Kingdom to his Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to *Fitz Aubar* his near Kinsman, whom he had lately made Earl of *Hereford*. He took with him into *Normandy*, *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who though a great Instrument in his easie and peaceable Admission to the Crown, yet had been discontented at his Coronation, which had been performed by the Arch-
bishop

bishop of York, upon Pretence of some Fault or Question about the others Investiture; with him he took several other Bishops, the Earls *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two Persons of great Power and Dependances, with many other *English Noblemen*, of whose Faith or Affections he was the least confident; and besides these, he took with him a greater and much more considerable Hostage for the Quiet of *England*, though under Colour of honouring him, or being honoured by his Company; This was *Edgar*, surnamed *Atheling*, Nephew to *Edward* the Confessor, and designed by him for Successor, as was divulged among those of his Subjects, that neither favoured the Right or Pretensions of *Harald*, or the *Norman Duke*. He had many Disadvantages to ballance and weigh

weigh down his Right which was undisputed, as his foreign Birth and Breeding, which was in *Hungary* during his Father's Exile under the Reign of *Hardy-Cnute* ; The Persecution and Hatred of his Grandmother *Emma*, a Woman celebrated in her Time, for the Suspicion and clearing of her Chastity by the *Saxon Trial* of Fire Ordeal, but who having married *Hardy-Cnute* after the Death of her first Husband, had ever after more Inclination to the *Danish* than the *Saxon Race* : Besides, *Edgar*, though of so good and virtuous Dispositions as made him be stiled *England's Darling*, yet they were such as seemed to become an excellent private Person rather than a Prince, or at least to have adorned an easie and peaceful Possession of a Crown, rather than to force his Way to a legal

legal Right through the Difficulties and Opposition of two Powerful Pretenders. However, an undisputed Right (which they say never dies) had left him so many Friends in the Kingdom, that the King thought it not safe to leave him behind upon his going into *Normandy*, nor wise to tempt either him or his new *English Subjects* with such an Opportunity of raising any Commotions upon so fair a Pretence.

Besides these Cautions, he took with him most of his *French Adventurers* into *Normandy*, finding they were not very agreeable here, either to the *English* or to the *Normans*, and pretending he was not able to clear his Accounts with all that assisted him, out of the Revenues or Forfeitures here, and that he would find out Ways of satisfying

ing them, either in *Normandy*, or by his Credit and Recommendations to other Princes, where his own Bounty or Abilities could not reach.

During his Stay in *Normandy*, which was no less than the whole Summer, his new Government in *England* continued quiet and peaceable, though one *Erick* called the Forester, endeavoured to disturb it by calling in some loose Forces of the *Welsh*, his Neighbours, into *Herefordshire*; but he was soon suppressed, and they easily forced back into their own Mountains by the Vigilance of the Governours, and the Vigour of those Forces he had left here, disposed with such Order, into the several Counties as to give Way or Time to no growing Dangers that should arise in any one Corner, or from any
single

single Discontent, while the general Humour of the People was calm, and either satisfied with the Change, or at a Gaze how this new World was like to end. So that the King, after having settled his Affairs in *Normandy* to his Mind, returned before Winter to enjoy the Fruits of so many Dangers and Toils as his Life had been engaged in, resolving to spend the remainder of it in *England*, as the nobler Scene and greater Dominion, and to cultivate with Care, an Acquisition, he had gained himself with much Hazard and Pains, and with greater Glory.

The King at his Return into *England*, finding his new Dominion had continued calm and peaceable under the Authority of his Brother and Council, had Reason to believe would be easily preserved

served so, under his own. For, as the Absence of an ill Prince seldom fails of raising Disquiets and Commotions among the People in a Government which is obeyed only from Fear; so nothing contributes more to the Satisfaction and Obedience of Subjects, than the Presence of a good King, and this is the Reason why all distant Provinces, governed by Commissions or subordinate Authorities, are so subject to frequent Seditions and Revolts, how lawfully soever they are inherited, or how well soever they are established after any new Conquest or Acquisition; the Force and Influence of Authority growing still weaker by the Change of Hands and Distance of Place. This disposed the new King to the Resolution he took at this time, of making *England* the
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Seat of his Person, as well as Empire, and governing *Normandy* by his Lieutenants, thereby forcing the common Affections of Birth, or Education and Custom, to yield and comply with Reasons of State; and preferring a foreign to his natural Soil, though perhaps seated in a better Climate and at that time more adorned and civilized by the Commerce of *France*, and other Countries upon the Continent.

With this Resolution, and in this Security, he applied himself at his Return to the Arts of Peace, and the Orders of his State, wherein he as well excelled as in those of War, and was framed, not only for a great Prince but for a good, to which he was inclined by the Bounty and Clemency of his natural Dispositions by the Strength and Soundness of his Judgment,

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and by the Experience of his Age : His first Care was to provide for the due Administration and Execution of Laws and Justice, throughout his Realm, and the next was to introduce Order into the common Course of his Revenue, and manage it with so great Proportion of his Expence to his Receipts, as might neither leave the Crown in Necessities, nor the Subjects in Fears of new or lawless Exactions and Oppressions ; Justice being the very Foundation of Government, as Treasure is said to be the Sinew of War.

For the first ; As he had sworn at his Coronation, to govern by the Laws of the Realm ; so he continued the ancient Customs and Liberties of the People that were called the Common Law of the Kingdom, which he caused to be

be in Substance observed both in what concerned the Crown and the Subject, though he introduced several new Forms in the Administration or Execution of them : Besides the ancient Laws or Customs that concerned the Descent of private Inheritances, or the Penalties upon several Crimes ; There were two fundamental Laws of the *Saxon* or *English Kingdom* ; The Trial by the Juries of twelve Men , wherein consisted the chief Safety of Mens Properties and Lives : And the Burrough Law, which was the greatest Security that had been invented by the Wisdom of our *Saxon Ancestors*, for the Peace and Order of the Realm. The first, I know, is by some Authors mentioned as having been introduced by this *Norman King* out of the Laws of that Country : But I think it evident to have been an In-

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stitution very ancient among the *Saxons*, and to have been derived and observed, during the whole Succession of the *English Kings*, and even in the *Danish Reigns*, without any interruption. Nor does there want some Traces or Appearance of it from the very Institutions of *Odin*, the first great Leader of the *Asiatick Goths* or *Getae*, into *Europe*, and the Founder of that mighty Kingdom, round the *Baltick sea*, from whence all the *Gothick Governments* in these Northwest Parts of the World were derived by the spreading Conquests of those Northern Races.

'Tis recorded, that upon the beginning of his Expedition, he ordained a Council of twelve Men who should judge and decide all Matters that came in Question, and there being then no other Laws established among those vast Numbers

bers of rough People, going to seek out new Conquests, and thereby Seats to inhabit: It is probable these twelve Men judged all Cases upon Evidence or matter of fact, and then gave their Sentence and appointed Penalties according to what they esteemed most agreeable to Justice and Equity, so as the twelve Men were at first both Jurors and Judges: Their Judgments in Causes both real and criminal being generally approved as just and equitable, grew into Precedent to succeeding Judges, and being received by general Submission, introduced the Custom of certain Sentences being pronounced in certain Causes, and certain Punishments being usually inflicted upon certain Crimes. In Process of time and Multiplicity of Business, the matter of Fact continued to be tried by twelve Men, but the Adjudgment of the

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Punishment, and the Sentence thereupon came to be given by one or two or more Persons chosen out of such as were best versed in the Knowledge of what had been usual in former Judgments upon like Cases; and as the first Part was left to the Equals or Neighbours of the Persons accused (as most likely to do Justice to one of their own Rank or Acquaintance) so the other was committed to the Persons of Learning or Knowledge in the ancient Customs, Records or Traditions of what had long passed in the Course of Justice among that Nation: Thus we find it evident that in the *Saxon Reigns in England* Causes were adjudged by the Aldermen and Bishop of the several Shires, with the Assistance of twelve Men of the same County, who are said to have been Judges or Assistants

sistants to the two first, by such as affirm or pretend this manner of Trial, to have been drawn by the Conqueror himself out of *Normandy*, who is thereby said to have introduced in this, as well as some other Forms, the *Norman Laws* into the common Law of *England*: 'Tis true that the same Custom or Trial was used in *Normandy* before the Conquest, and it is most probable that neither the *English* received it from the *Normans*, nor these from the *English*; but that both Nations derived their Original from those ancient *Goths*, agreed in several Customs or Institutions, deduced from their common Ancestors, which made this Trial by Juries continue uninterrupted in *England* not only by the *Normans*, but by the *Danes* also, who were but another Swarm of that great Northern Hive. 'Tis

true the Terms of Jury and Verdict were introduced by the *Normans* with many others, in the Stile and Practice of our Laws, but the Trials by twelve Men with that essential Circumstance of their unanimous Agreement, was not only used among the *Saxons* and *Normans*, but is known to have been as ancient in *Sweden*, as any *Records* or Traditions of that Kingdom, which was the first Seat of the *Gothick Dominions* in the North-west Parts of *Europe*, and it still remains in some Provinces of that Country. However King *William* caused this to be observed as the common Law of the Kingdom, and thereby gave great and universal Satisfaction to the Body of the People, both *English* and *Normans*.

The Burrough Law had been likewise anciently establish'd among the *Saxons*, whereby every
Shire

Shire was divided into so many Hundreds or Burroughs, consisting at first of one hundred Families therein usually inhabiting; every Hundred into so many Tithings, consisting of ten Families. If any person committed or were accused of any Crime, the Tithing to which he belonged was bound to produce him to Justice before the Court of the Hundred or County; If he fled, they were to swear they were not Complices of the Fact, and that they would procure the Criminal whenever they could find him; if this failed, in a certain time they would discover all the Goods he was possessed of within their Tithing to satisfy the Damage done to a Subject, or a Fine to the King upon such an Offence: If neither Person nor Estate appeared, then the Tithing was answerable to a certain Pro-

Proportion, and if that were not sufficient then it was laid upon the Hundred: By this means it became every Man's Interest as well as Duty, to prevent all Crimes and Misdemeanors among their Neighbours, and to discover the Criminals, since they were otherwise to share in the Penalty, and as the rest of the Tithing was bound for the Behavior of every Freeman among them, so every Lord or Master was bound to answer in the same manner for their Servants.

I know not whether any Constitution of Government, either ancient or modern, ever invented and instituted any Law or Order, of greater Wisdom or of greater Force to preserve the Peace and Safety of any State, and of equal Utility to the Prince and People; making Virtue and Innocence of Life so necessary, by the easie Apprehen-

prehenſion or Diſcovery, and certain Punishment of Offenders. This Law the King cauſed likewise to be ſeverely obſerved during his Reign, finding therein his own Intereſt as well as his Peoples, and the great Security of his new ſettled Government.

He confirmed all Mens Properties, Inheritances, and Succeſſions, invading none, either for his own Benefit, or Reward of his *Norman Forces*, or Friends, excepting the Poſſeſſions of ſuch as had oppoſed his Claim to the Crown, which he pretended to be a lawful Right, as derived from the Teſtament of *Edward* the Confeſſor, and thereby was made a Pretence of legal Forfeiture in all that reſiſted him : But this Blow to ſo many Eſtates and Families was given at once, and no more renewed ; On the contrary, Juſtice
was

was administred equally to the *English Men*, upon the Injuries of the *Normans* who presume upon the King's Favour, in Prejudice of Right and of those Laws he had confirmed or establisht. Whereof one memorable Instance remains upon Record, even in those Writers who were most severe upon the Action and Memory of this Prince : It was an Action between *Warren a Norman*, and *Sherburn an English Man*: The first, by Virtue of a Grant from the King had entred upon the Lands of the other, who came into Court, and pleaded that he had never bore Arms against the King, nor opposed his Title or Accession to the Crown, but had lived always peaceably upon his own Lands, and so was liable to no Forfeiture by the common Law, but was further secured by the King's Declaration

claration, immediately after his coming to the Crown: Upon which Plea a just Sentence was given in favour of *Sherburn*, his Lands restored, and *Warren* the *Norman* cast, and condemned to the Costs of the Suit.

He appointed Justices to preserve the Peace, and administer Justice in every County, pursuant to that which was used in the *Saxon Reigns*. For the Pleas of the Crown, and those of greater Moment between the Subjects, he created Judges of the most learned and able he could find, and ordained four Terms each Year consisting of a certain Number of Days, wherein Justice should be duly administered, and all Suits heard in such Places as the King should appoint and find most convenient. Besides these Orders, he instituted the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer,

chequer, the first for tempering the Rigour of Laws according to the Dictates of Conscience and Equity ; and the other for determining all Actions concerning the Revenues of the Crown, and punishing Exactions or irregular Proceedings in the Officers who levied or received them, as well as Defaults or Delays in those from whom it was due.

For Taxes or Impositions unusual, it does not appear, that he levied any excepting one of Six Shillings upon each Plow-land throughout the Kingdom, nor is it well agreed, at what Time or upon what Occasion this was raised, whether by consent of a general Assembly, or by his own Regal Authority : By this indeed he imposed *Danegelt* upon the Invasion of the *Danes*, which happened once or twice in this Reign, though with little Progress or Success. This

This Tax was first raised by *Ethelred* upon the first Enterprize of the *Danes* upon *England*, and afterwards used by several of his Successors upon the like Danger, sometimes to repulse them by Force and Arms, sometimes to evade them by Bargains and Money, wherewith they compounded for the present Dangers, but invited others to come by such mean Defences.

This Tax grew odious to the People whenever it was raised upon any other Pretence than a *Danish Invasion*, and though it was sometimes levied, yet very seldom and cautiously, by some few of the *Saxons Kings*, and but once or twice by this *Norman Prince*, and then most probably upon the true natural Occasions, which had given it the first Original: Thus, I suppose, it is confounded with the
Tax

Tax before mentioned, and without applying it to the *Danish Invasions*, by some Writers, who seem to take all occasions of defaming the Actions and Memory of this King, and to avoid all just Excuses of any that were ill resented : And this proceeded from the ill Talent of the Monkish Writers, who measured the Virtues and Vices of Princes, by the Opinion of their Favour or Disaffection to the Clergy, whom they accounted or stiled the Church, though this general Appellation is known to comprehend not only such Persons as were anciently chosen to administer the Offices of divine Worship, but also all believing Christians that composed such Assemblies, to whom these Offices were administered ; Of this the King seemed to be sensible ; for though he was a Prince of known and great

Piety

Piety, and so approved by the several Popes during his Reign ; yet he appeared very little favorable, if not something hard to the Ecclesiasticks of this Kingdom, and perhaps something bold with their Privileges so long enjoyed under the devout *Saxon Kings*.

For the rest he contented himself with the usual Revenues of the Crown ; and by his great Order and Management, as well as Moderation in his constant Expence, gained much Ease to the Crown, and Satisfaction to his People.

The chief and ancient Branches of the Crown Revenue consisted of, First, the Lands of old reserved as a provision for the King's Household , and so reckoned as Crown Lands : These at first yielded only certain Quantities of Provisions, as Beefs, Sheep, Wheat,
M Hay,

Hay, Oates, according to the Nature of the Lands the Tenures by which they held, and the quantity of Provisions found necessary for the King's Household ; What Overplus remained, was compounded for and paid in Money, according to Rates usual and agreed. The next was a Duty reserved anciently out of every Knight's Fee, which at first was constantly paid as a Quit-rent, but being small, came in time to be neglected by the Kings, that contented themselves with the Military Attendance of the Knights in their Wars, and with levying sometimes a greater Duty upon great or urgent Occasions, under the Name of Escuage, vvhich vvas burthenfom and odious till the Proportions and Occasion came to be ascertained. Those Authors, vvho vvill make the Conqueror to have broken or
changed

changed the Laws of *England*, and introduced those of *Normandy*, pretend this Duty of *Elcuage* with the Tenures of Knights Service and Baronage, to have come over in this Reign, as well as the Trial by Juries : But as enough has been said to clear the last, so it needs no Proof, that these with the other Feudal Laws, were all brought into *Europe* by the ancient *Goths*, and by them settled in all the Provinces which they conquered of the *Roman Empire*, and among the rest, by the *Saxons* in *England*, as well as by the *Franks* in *Gaul*, and the *Normans* in *Normandy* ; where the use of their States or general Assemblies vvere likewise of the same Original.

The last common Branch of the Kings Revenue consisted of Forfeitures, both of Lands and Goods, in Cases of Treason and Fines, or

some known mulctuary Punishments upon other Crimes, which where distinctly prescribed in the *Saxon* Laws, even for Manflaughter and Murther it self; the Rigour of those Times not extending to Blood, except in those Cases where the common Safety of the Kingdom was concerned, by the danger of the King.

By all these Orders and Institutions, and the Clemency as well as Justice, wherewith they were administred; the King how new soever his Reign, how disputed his Title, and how disagreeable his Person by a foreign Birth, yet so far gained the general Affections and Satisfaction of the Commoners of the Realm, who ask nothing but Security in their Estates and Properties, that no Commotions afterwards raised by the Nobles and Clergy against his Government,

ment, though in Favour of a better Right and Title, were ever supported by the Commons, who compose the Mass and Bulk of a Nation, and whose general good or ill Humour, Satisfaction or Discontent will ever have the most forcible Influence for the Preservation or Ruin of any State.

Besides the good and profitable Institutions and Orders of this King, already mentioned, so generally approved, and so grateful to the Commonalty of the Realm, there were others of a different Nature, and which had a contrary Effect by distasting and disobliging many of the chief Nobility, and most or all of the Clergy, though some were so cautious as not to lose their Dignities or Revenues by expressing their Resentments.

The Offences taken by these last, were, first, the abrogating

or surfeising the Judiciary Power, exercised by the Bishops during the *Saxon Times* in each County, where Justice was administred, and the Bishop with the Alderman or Earl of each Shire, sate as Judges in those Courts, which encreased, not only their Authority, but their Revenues too, by a Share they had with the King in all Fines raised from the Issue of Causes there determined; But all this was abolished by the King's Institution of Justiciaries, to administer Justice upon all Pleas of the Crown, and others among Subjects at four Terms of the Year.

This gave particular Offence to the Bishops, but another to the whole Clergy: for whereas before they held all their Land by *Franc Almonage*, and subject to no Duties or Impositions, but such as they laid upon themselves in their

Ecclesiastical Assemblies : This Prince finding above a third Part of the Lands of the Kingdom in Possession of the Clergy, and the Forces of the Crown, which consisted in Knights Service, lessened in Proportion by their Immunity ; He reduced all their Lands to the common Tenure of Knights Fees and Baronage, and thereby subjected them to the Attendance upon the King in his Wars, and to other Services anciently due, and sometimes raised upon all Lands that held in fee from the Crown. This Innovation touch'd not only the Bishops, but all the Abbots throughout the Kingdom, many of whom were endowed with so great Lands and Revenues, that in Right thereof they were upon the regular Constitutions of Parliaments, allowed Session with the

Bishops as Barons in the House of Lords.

The whole Clergy exclaimed against this new Institution, not only as an Indignity and Injustice, but as an Impiety too, and Violation of the sacred Rights of the holy Church, but their Complaints were without Redress, though not without ill Consequence.

The Discontents among many of the great Nobles arose chiefly from two Occasions; The first was the Rigor of the Forrest Laws and of their Execution; And the other was, the King's too apparent Partiality to his *Normans*.

To know the Ground or Pretence of these Forrest Laws, it will be necessary to run up to their Original. In the first Seisures and Distributions made of the *British Lands* by the conquering *Saxons*, besides those reserved to the Kings,

Kings, or divided among the People, and held by the Tenures, either of Knights Service or of Book-land as it was termed among the *Saxons*, and thereby distinguish'd from that of Villenage; there were many great Tracts of barren, wild, or woody Lands, left undisposed, and in a manner waste, so great Numbers of *British Inhabitants* having been extinguish'd by the Wars, or retired into *Wales, Cornwall, Britany, and Scotland*, and the new *Saxons* not content to share among them, any Lands, but such as were fruitful and fit to be cultivated: these were enclosed or improved as well as inhabited by the new Proprietors, and the others left waste as well as undisposed to any certain Owners: The whole Country was, as has been observed, very full of all Sorts of wild Game in
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the time of the *Britains*, who lived at large without any Inclosures, little Property, and subsisted much upon Hunting, Fishing and Fowling, which they had all in common. Upon the enclosing or cultivating of the fruitful Lands by the *Saxons*, the wild Beasts naturally afraid of Neighbours, whom they found to be all Enemies, fled into the wild, woody, and desolate Tracts of Land where they found Shelter, and fed, though hardly, yet out of common Sight and Noise: And hereby all those Parts became replenish'd with all Sorts of Game, especially with Red and Fallow-Deer, and made all those several Extents of Ground, which were afterwards called Forrests.

The *Saxon Kings* esteemed these to belong to the Crown, by their Right to all Possessions that have

have no certain Owner, and by their never having been disposed upon the first Divisions of Land in the *Saxon Kingdoms*, nor afterwards by any Grants of the Crown. This Right was not disputed, nor any Use of it made, further than for the King's Pleasure, which yet was not by them restrained from the Nobles or Knights that were Borderers upon the Forrests, who vvere so moderate in those more simple Ages, as to commit no Excesses or destroy the Game, vvhich it vvas their Interest to preserve both for their Sport and the Quarry, and for some use made of it for common Pasturage among all the bordering Neighbours.

William the Conqueror not only seised upon all the Forrests as Part of his ovvn Demefns, but made a very large one in *Hampshire*, besides

besides those he found by laying waft, and leaving uninhabited great Extents of Land which he pretended to be fallen to the Crown by ancient Succession or by new Forfeitures : and this he called the *New Forrest*, which Name after so long a Course of Ages, yet it still retains.

In all these Forrests he pretended an absolute Right and Dominion, and in Pursuance thereof instituted new and arbitrary Laws of his own, unused and unknown before in this Kingdom, and very different from the Moderation of the *Saxon Government*. He confined all hunting or fowling in these Forrests to himself, or such as should have Right to it by his Concessions or Permissions. He imposed Fines upon all Trespasses committed in them according to his own pleasure, and which seemed much to exceed

exceed the Fault or Value of the thing. These he caused to be levied with great Rigor and Exacti-
on and thereby debarred not only his Commoners, but his Nobles too, from a Liberty they had before always enjoyed ; though he took care not to provoke the Commoners, by leaving Pasturage free for such of the Neighbours who lived most upon their Stock, and thereby took no great Offence at the Restraint from their Sport which they had not Time from their Labour much to follow ; yet the Nobles and Knights, who valued their Sports more than common Gains, and made use of their Riches but for Encrease of their Pleasures ; resented this Restraint as a sensible Injury, as an Invasion of their Liberties, and even as an Affection of an Arbitrary Power in this Particular, and from the
Exer-

- Exercise whereof he was only restrained, by the Regards of his Safety and Interest, in others of more Moment and Consequence : The great Nobles resented it yet further, as an Indignity, by levelling their Privileges with the Liberties of the Commoners, from whom they esteemed themselves distinguished by the usual Regards and Respects paid them from the Princes in their Degree, as well as from the People. Nor does it appear whether this violent Institution of the Forrest Laws proceeded from his passionate Love of hunting (the only Pleasure to which this Prince was addicted) or from his Avarice by so many Fines to encrease his Treasure, or from a Desire of being absolute and arbitrary in one Part of his Government, which he found he could not be with any Safety in the rest.
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For this Partiality to the *Normans*, though it was disguised, or at least not evident in the common Forms of his Justice, which run a free and an even Course, yet it was easily discovered in that of his Graces and Favour: the Civil Offices, Ecclesiastical Benefices, Places of most Trust about his Person, and in his Realm, were conferred generally upon his *Normans*, and besides these Advantages and those of the Forfeitures that fell upon his Entrance; they appeared to have his Countenance, his Conversation, his Confidence, so that whatsoever the *English* possessed of the Kingdom, the *Normans* alone seemed to possess the King.

This might have been more excusable if the English had considered the King as much as themselves, and many of his Circumstances as well

well as their own : They were Strangers to him, or but new Acquaintance ; they differed in Language, in Manners, in Customs ; they had very lately differed in Interest, and from Enemies in War, were indeed now become Subjects, but rather as to a Conqueror than a lawful Prince : The *Normans* spoke his Native Tongue, were trained up in the same Customs, acquainted with his Person from his Youth, had attended him in his Court, followed him in his Wars at Home and Abroad, and thought it but just they should share in his Fortunes as they had in his Dangers.

However, many of the great aspiring Spirits among the *English Nobles* could not bear this Partiality of the Kings : They thought the *Normans* ought to be provided of Rewards or Honours in *Normandy*,

mandy, but those of *England* should be conferred upon *English*: Besides, they resented the common Testimonies of his Inclination to the *Normans*, as much as they could have done Injuries to themselves, like generous Lovers, who are more jealous and spited to see their Rivals gain the Inclination of their Mistresses, than the Possession; and had rather they should have her Body than her Heart.

Upon all these Causes the Discontents of many chief *English Nobles* and *Prelates* were grown to such a Height, swelling more within, the more they were suppressed; that they wanted only a fair Occasion to draw them to a Head, and make them break out with Violence, and much Pain and Danger to the State.

This furnished them, either by Fortune or Design, in the
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third,

third, fourth, or fifth Year of the Conqueror's Reign ; for the Authors are neither distinct , nor agreed in assigning the Causes or the Times of this King's Actions in War or Institutions in Peace, by which their true Nature, and that of the Prince would have been best discovered ; whereas they content themselves to display their Eloquence , or vent their Passions, by relating general or particular Events, what was done, and what was suffered in his Reign ; by which some of the *Norman Writers* endeavour to represent him as a God, and some of the *English* like a Devil, and both unjustly.

Edgar Atheling was Nephew to *Edward* the Confessor, and the undisputed as well as undoubted Heir of the Kingdom from the *Saxon Race* : It was generally thought

thought that he had likewise been designed by King *Edward*, a just and pious Prince, to succeed him in the Throne, and that his Declaration pretended by *Harald*, or Testament by the Duke of *Normandy* were fictitious, or at least neither of them evident from any clear and undoubted Writings or Testimonies. *Edgar* was besides from the Bounty of his Nature, the Excellence of his Temper the Prerogative of his Birth, and the Compassion of his unjust Fortunes, much and generally beloved and esteemed among all the *English* both *Nobles* and *Commons*, yet he neither opposed *Harald's* Usurpation; nor the *Normans* Conquest, whether for want of Spirit to attempt so great an Adventure, or upon Prudence, not to oppose such Powers, as he found unrelistable, and in which so many Circumstances had

conspir'd, choofing rather to content himself with the Shades of a private Condition, out of Danger and Envy, or at least to attend some future Occasions that might open a more probable Way to his Hopes and his Fortunes.

He was at *London* among many other Nobles, when the famous and decisive Battle was fought at *Hastings*, and the News brought of the Duke's Victory, and of *Harald's* Death : those of the Nobles who were for opposing the Conqueror, were for declaring *Edgar Atheling* King ; the Citizens of *London* were at first dispos'd to the same Resolution ; but the Bishops and Clergy who had the Greatest Sway among both those Orders, prevail'd in this General Council for a General Submission to the Fate of the *Kingdom*.

In pursuance of this Resolution,
Edgar,

Edgar Atheling, with *Stigand*, and *Alred*, Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Edwin* and *Morchar*, two of the Greatest *English* Lords, the rest of the Nobles and Bishops who had attended the Victorious Duke upon his Way to *London*, was well receiv'd by him, and treated with Bounty as well as Humanity ; so that the *Young Prince* attended frequently at Court, accompany'd the *King* into *Normandy*, return'd with him into *England*, and liv'd there for some time like one who had forgot his Birth and Title, tho' they were by the *English* well remembred : But at length, either weary of Rest, Or roused by other Spirits more unquiet than his own, he resolv'd or at least pretended to make a Journey into *Hungary*, where he was born during his Father's Exile, and liv'd long, and was much

beloved : He embarked for *Flanders* with his two Sisters, *Margaret* and *Christine*, but forced by a Storm and contrary Winds, or allured by fairer Hopes, he was driven upon the Coasts of *Scotland* ; the first was given out, but the last suspected, from the Event of this Voyage. He was received by *Malcolm*, the King, with great Kindness and Compassion of his Disasters both at Sea and Land, was resorted to by all the Nobles and Gentlemen who had sheltered themselves in that Kingdom, upon Hate or Fear of the Conquest in *England*, and was by them acknowledged and honoured as the true lawful Heir of that Crown. Soon after his Arrival, the King of *Scotland*, enflamed either with the Beauty of the young Lady, or with the Hopes of her Brother's Fortunes, or upon former Concert

with

with the *English Nobles* residing in *Scotland*, and Intelligence with others discontented in *England*, married the Lady *Margaret*, eldest Sister of *Edgar*, and thereby became newly engaged in the Interests and Family of this noble but unfortunate Prince.

The Fame of this Adventure was no sooner divulged in *England* than it raised a great, though different Motion in the Minds of all Men there, who were either well or ill affected to the new King, filling one Party with new hopes, and the other with new Fears, and reasonably enough in both, from all common Appearances. Many Persons of great Note and Authority in *England*, repaired immediately upon it into *Scotland*, some by easie Passages out of the Northern Counties, and others out of the remoter parts of the Realm,

by more difficult Escapes, either by Sea or Land. Among these were the Earls *Edwin*, *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Seward*, *Gospatrick*, Men of Great Estates and Power, as was believ'd in *England*, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen : But that which seemed yet of greater Influence and Authority, was the Repair of *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Alred* of *York*, with divers other Bishops and Prelates, who having been the chief Instruments in making Way for the easie Accession of Duke *William* to the Crown, and for the General Submission of the *English* to his Reign, were presumed now likely to prove of as great moment and importance for the Restoration and Support of a just English Title in *Edgar*, as they had been for the Admission and Establishment of one Disputed and Forreign, of
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the *Norman Dukes* : Besides, the *Clergy* being accounted the Wise and Learned Men of that *Age*, vvere esteem'd most likely to judge best of the *Rights*, and best to foresee the Events in Disputes of the *Crown*, and unlikely to embark themselves in a Bottom unsound, upon either the Regards of Justice or Success.

Edgar, exalted vvith such a Concourse of Nobles out of *England*, and the Hopes they gave him of a Greater from the People there, vvhen he should appear among them, resolv'd to lay claim to that *Crown*, and vvith stronger Arguments than those of a bare Title or Right of Succession, howv just soever : For the *Scotch King* had now assisted him vvith a Great Army, being induc'd to engage openly in his Quarrel, not only by the Charms of his Wife,
or

or Compassion of her Brother's hard Fortune, but by Reasons of State as well as of Justice and Affection ; he feared the dangerous Neighbourhood of so powerful, aspiring and fortunate a Prince, and apprehended his Ambition would not cease with the Conquest of *England*, but extend it to that of *Scotland* too, and reducing the whole Island of *Britain* under one Dominion, for which it seemed by Nature to have been framed; he thought it both wise and necessary to give some Stop to this growing Power, before it became too well settled at home and thereby prepared for new Enterprises abroad ; and that it was better carrying a War into *England*, than expecting it in *Scotland*. He was glad of so fair an Occasion to justify his Quarrel, and by advancing the Fortunes of *Edgar*, to secure his

his own ; he had taken Measures with *Swayn* King of *Denmark*, to enter the *Humber* with a powerful Navy, whilst he with his Army entred the Northern Provinces by Land, and with the Sons of *Harald*, at the same Time to invade the West by the Assistance of Forces to be furnished by *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to whom they had fled upon the *Norman Victory*. He presumed upon great Insurrections among the *English* in Favour of *Edgar*, and by the Authority of the Nobles his Associates, who had represented the common Discontents in *England* to be as great as their own.

These Hopes were not ill grounded, nor the Designs ill laid ; for the *Danish Fleet* was ready to sail, and the Sons of *Harald* with their *Irish Forces*, landed and raised a Commotion in the West, at the same

same Time that *Edgar* with those
 out of *Scotland*, invaded the North,
 where he found at first no Opposi-
 tion, but instead of Enemies met
 with many Friends prepared to
 receive him, and increase his
 Strength: He made himself Ma-
 ster of *Northumberland*, *Cumber-*
land and the Bishoprick of *Dur-*
ham by the Defeat of *Robert* Count
 of *Mortain*, who was there slain,
 with seven hundred *Normans*. From
 thence he marched without Resi-
 stance as far as *York*, which was
 defended by a strong Garrison of
Norman Soldiers. He besieged this
 City the Capital and Defence of
 all the Northern Countries, and
 assaulted it with that Fury, that
 he carried the Town by Storm,
 where all the *Normans* were put to
 the Sword by the Rage and Re-
 venge of the *English Nobles* in his
 Army, many in the Heat of the
 Assault,

Assault, and the rest, after they were entred and found no more Resistance. After this Success, *Edgar* remained some time at *York* to refresh his Army, after so long a March, and so warm an Action, which had cost him the Lives of many brave Men, and the Wounds of many more. Besides, he expected here to see his Army soon increased by the Repair of many Friends and Discontents out of the Southern Provinces of *England*, and by the Arrival of the *Danish Fleet* in the *Humber* according to the Concert before agreed, and for vvhich he knevv all had been prepared.

King *William* thus surrounded vvith Dangers from the West and North, and vvith Jealousies of his nev्व Subjects of vvhose Affections he had yet made no Trial further than some fevv Years Submis-
sion

sion to his Government, was yet
 undaunted at the News of all these
 Attempts, nor any ways distracted
 by such various either Dangers or
 Fears. He applied himself to
 those which were nearest, by send-
 ing the Forces he had ready, im-
 mediately into the West, under
 experienced Commanders, and
 prepared a great Army both of
English and *Normans*, to march
 himself into the North, after the
 Commotions in the West should
 be appeased: This happened to be
 easier and sooner than he ex-
 pected; for the Attempt of *Ha-*
rald's Sons with their *Irish Forces*,
 proved weak and faint, though
 successful in the first Encounter,
 wherein *Ednoth*, a brave Com-
 mander on the King's side was
 slain, with several of his Follow-
 ers; but the Sons of *Harald* being
 defeated in a second Engagement,
 and

and failing of any considerable Recourse or Insurrection of the *English* there, (upon which they had grounded their chief Hopes) much disappointed and thereby discouraged, were easily broken by the brave *Norman Troops*, and Forced to return with the remainder of their *Irish Forces* into *Ireland*.

King *William* upon the happy End of this Adventure, after the best Orders taken for the Security of the Southern Parts in his Absence, marched at the Head of a brave Army into the North, engaged the Forces of *Edgar* in a set Battel, and by the Valour of his Troops, the Discipline and Order of his Army, and his own excellent Conduct, defeated entirely the united Strength of his Enemies, besieged and took again the City of *York*, defended by *Waltheof*, Son to the *Earl Syward*, a young Gentleman

tleman of great Valour, and much admired in this Action, being said to have stood firm at a Breach made in the Wall, and with his Sword to have cut off the Heads of many *Normans* as they pressed to enter, and could do it but one by one, by the Narrowness of the Breach so bravely defended.

After this Defeat, and the Surrender of *York*, *Edgar* retired into *Scotland* with those of his Dependants, who were most desperate and impatient of the *Norman Conquest*. The rest of the *English Nobles*, who had escaped the Battel, submitted themselves to the King, and came in upon publick Faith, took a new Oath of Allegiance, and were thereupon all pardoned, and many restored not only to their Estates, but to Favour with the King, who had found *Erick* the Forrester that had first rebelled
against

against him after his Coronation, exprefs great Fidelity, after his Pardon obtain'd, and perform'd good Service in this Northern Expedition. He made *Gospatrick* Earl of *Northumberland*, and employ'd him against the Dangers and Incurfions he apprehended from the *Scotch*. He was fo charm'd with the Valour and Conftancy that *Waltheof* had fhew'd in the Defence of *York* (though fo much to his Coft and the Lofs of fo many *Normans* by his Sword) that he resolv'd to gain him at what Rate foever he valu'd himfelf, fhewing the Noblenefs of his own Courage and Virtue, by loving and honouring them in his Enemies. He marry'd this young Gentleman to *Judith* his Niece, gave him Great Poffeffions, befides thofe to which he was Heir, and us'd him with much Confidence, which was for

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some time returned with Service and with Faith.

Most of the other Nobles that came in upon Pardon of their Lives, he despoiled of their Estates and Offices, and bestowed them upon his *Norman Friends and Followers*; some he kept Prisoners, whom he thought most dangerous, as the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, and *Edwin*, a Man of the greatest Power and Dependances, whose Earldom and great Possessions in *Yorkshire* were given to *Alain* Earl of *Britain*, as were those of several others at the same time to others of his Kindred or Friends. In the room of *Stigand* he made *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, an *Italian* born, but an Abbot in *Normandy*, a Person of great Wisdom and Temper, as well as Learning: *Thomas*, his Chaplain, he made Archbishop of *York* and obtained the

the Approbation of the Pope, for their Succession in those Sees (during the Lives of the other two) upon Representation of other Crimes, or at least Vices, besides their Rebellion against a King, whose Title had been confirmed by the Pope, as well as encouraged.

'Tis not agreed at vvhhat Time the *Danish Fleet* arrived upon the Coasts, but 'tis certain they entered *Humber* vvith about tvvo hundred Sail, some vvrite that they returned again vvithout making any Attempt upon the Shore ; that their Commanders vvere enriched vvith great Presents from the King, and their Soldiers supplied vvith Provisions, and all treated rather like Friends than Enemies ; whether their Arrival out of Time made them despair of any Success, and whether that were occasioned by cross Winds at Sea, or cross

Purposes in the *Danish Court*, is not well known: For *William* the Conqueror, after he was seated in the Throne, fear'd no Insult from abroad, but by *Danish Powers*, and Pretensions they had still upon *England*, and the Preparations (as was divulg'd abroad) of *Swain* their King, for invading it with a Navy of a Thousand Ships. Hereupon he endeavour'd to ward this Blow by Sleight rather than Force, thinking his Safety on that side better purchas'd with *Treasure* than with *Blood*. He practis'd private Intelligences in the *Danish Court*, and by Force of *Presents* and *Pensions*, gain'd to his Devotion some Persons of Credit, and among the rest, *Adelbert* Archbishop of *Hamburg*, a Man of Great Authority in those Parts, and whose Advices were much us'd and esteem'd by the *Danish King*. It was believed the

the Artifices and Practices of these Men eluded the first great Design of a mighty Invasion, changed it into an Assistance of the discontented here, with smaller Forces, delayed them till the Time was past, and disposed their Commanders to return without Action, and their Master to receive their Excuses with Approbation, or at least with Impunity.

Yet there are other Writers who say, the *Danes* landed in *England*, made great Spoils, joyned Prince *Edgar's* Forces, wintred in this Kingdom, and returned in the Spring by the King's private Practices and Rewards among the Commanders, as well as Bounty to the Soldiers.

The King after having established his Affairs in the North, returned triumphant to *London*, where the first Action he performed

ed was to take a new personal Oath, before *Lanfranc* the new Archbishop, and all the Lords then present in that City; to observe the ancient Laws of the Realm established by the Kings of *England* his Predecessors, and Particularly those of *Edward* the Confessor.

This Action of the King's was the more applauded, and the better accepted by the *English*, because it was unconstrained by any Necessity of his Affairs, or Appearance of any new Dangers against which he might have Reason to provide. And 'tis certain, his Oath taken at his Coronation, of preserving the ancient Laws of the Realm, had been the chief Occasion of his Safety in the late and dangerous Convulsion of the State, together with the ill chosen Time of the *Scotch Invasion*, and the Revolt of the Lords in Favour of *Edgar*.

Edgar. For if such Attempts had been made soon after the Conquest, while the Minds of the People were generally in Motion, and in Fear of what might succeed to the Danger of their Properties, and their ancient Liberties, upon that new Revolution, his Throne had not been only shaken, but in evident Danger of being overthrown by such a violent Concussion. But the People having lived quietly some Years, under the Protection of their ancient Laws, and in an equal Course of known and common Justice, grew indifferent to the Change which had been made in the Rights or Succession of the Crown, or to any new one that might succeed. Besides, though they were well affected to *Edgar*, yet they disliked the Company with which he came attended, and hated the Entrance of a *Scotch*

Army into *England*, more than they loved *Edgar*. They thought if he succeeded, the Dominion would fall under the *Scotch*, whilst he only retained the Name; and if they must be governed by Strangers, the best was to have those they were already used to, and so feared least. The common Subjects of a Kingdom are not so apt to trouble themselves about the Rights and Possession of a Crown as about their own, and seldom engage in the Quarrels of the first, but upon some general and strong Apprehensions that the last are in Danger. So the Discontents and Insurrections of the Nobles in *England*, though encouraged and supported by foreign Forces, yet failed of Success against this new King and his Government, because they were not followed by any general Commotion or Sublevation of the People,

ple, which left all safe and quiet in the Southern Parts and main Body of the Kingdom, whilst he marched with his Army against his Enemies in the North; Nor is the Safety of a Prince so firm and well established upon any other Bottom, as the general Safety, and thereby Satisfaction of the common People, which make the Bulk and Strength of all great Kingdoms, whenever they conspire and unite in any common Passion or Interest. For the Nobles, without them, are but like an Army of Officers without Soldiers, and make only a vain Show or weak Noise, unless raised and encreased by the Voice of the People, which for this Reason is in a common Latin Proverb called *the Voice of God*.

No Prince ever made greater or happier Experience of this Truth than *William* the Conqueror, both
in

in the Events of the last and formidable Dangers which he so easily surmounted, and in the whole Course of his subsequent Reign, which was infested by many new Troubles, either in *England* or in *Normandy*, that would have proved fatal to him if he had been distracted by the common Discontents or Insurrections of his *English Subjects*; for his present Calm was not of long Continuance, the Clouds soon gathered again, and threatened another Storm, and from the same Winds, by which the last had been raised.

Malcolm, King of *Scotland*, still persisted in the Envy and Fear of his neighbouring Power and Greatness, still esteemed it his own Interest to joyn with those of *Edgar* and his Dependants in *England*; and thereby weaken the Force, or disturb the Quiet of the *Norman Government*.

vernment in *England*, before it
 should by the Favour of Time,
 and calm Seasons, take too deep
 Root to be afterwards shaken.
 He raised a greater Army than be-
 fore with which he threatned a-
 gain to invade *England*, and led
 them himself, though still in Fa-
 vour only of *Edgar's* Title and Ad-
 vancement to the Crown. He en-
 tered into new Practises with seve-
 ral of the *English Nobles* who had
 followed him though unfortunate-
 ly in the last Expedition, and were
 resolved to repair their former
 Losses by venturing greater, rather
 than give over the Game. Nor
 could the Hopes of the discontented
English ever die while the Root was
 alive, and they were fomented by
 the Malice, and encouraged by the
 Forces of so powerful a Neigh-
 bour joyned with, so just Pretensi-
 ons as those of *Edgar* were general-
 ly esteemed.

When

When the Preparations in *Scotland*, and Intelligences in *England* were ripe for Execution, the Earl *Edwin* made his Escape, and fled towards the North, but was by the Way murdered by some of his own Retinue. The Earls *Morchar* and *Hereward*, who were already upon the Wing, for the same Flight, discouraged by this Misadventure, durst not pursue it, but yet already engaged too far to make a Retreat, they made Way to possess themselves of the Isle of *Ely*, fortified there the best they could, and hoped the *Scotch Invasion* would divert the King's Forces from attempting them before Winter, and that the Season and Situation together would there cover them for some Time.

On the contrary, the *Scotch King* was discouraged from beginning his March, by the News of these Disasters

asters among his Confederates in
England, and chose rather to send
 the Bishop of *Durham* and Earl
Syward out of *Scotland* to relieve
 and animate those Lords, retired
 to the Isle of *Ely*, than to enter *En-*
gland without Hopes of their ma-
 king some Diverſion. But the King
 who never feared or ſlighted any
 Dangers, and knew they were like
 Diſeaſes, to be taken in time,
 marched immediately with his
 Forces to the Isle of *Ely*, beſet it
 upon one ſide with a great Number
 of flat bottom Boats, and on ano-
 ther, made a Bridge of two Miles
 long, with incredible Diligence
 and Labour, and with ſuch Speed,
 as both ſurpris'd and terrify'd his
 Enemies within. So as deſpairing
 of further Reſiſtance, they all ſub-
 mitted to the King's Mercy, ex-
 cept *Hereward*, who with ſome few
 Followers eſcaped through the
 Fens

- Fens, and through many Dangers arrived safe in *Scotland*. The rest of the Lords were sent Prisoners to several Parts of the Kingdom, where some remained during the King's Life, and others dyed before him, with whom they could not be content to live.

The King, after this small Adventure so happily atchieved, and the present Peace of his Kingdom restored, yet considering the Root of all his dangers was in *Scotland*, and unwilling to take up present Quiet and Safety, at too great an Interest of Dangers to come, resolved to march into *Scotland* with a powerful Army, and endeavour to secure himself on that Side, either by a Peace or Victory. He first sent *Roger a Norman*, then *Gospatrick Earl of Northumberland*, with Part of his Forces into the North to oppose the *Scotch Army* that was already

already entred those Provinces ,
 with great Spoils and Ravages of
 the Country, and to keep them at
 a Bay till the King came up with
 the rest of his Army. In the mean
 time he assembled his Forces at
York with the best Choice of Men
 and Officers, and such Numbers
 as he judged necessary for such an
 Expedition; Composed of *English*
 and *Normans*, whose Emulation he
 encouraged with promises of Re-
 ward, and Hopes of establishing
 their common Safety by the Suc-
 cess of this Enterprize. From *York*
 to *Durham* he met with many Hard-
 ships and Difficulties from the
 Wants of his Army, in a Country
 which had been so lately wasted by
 the *Scotch Forces* and his own, and
 with which he was then contented
 to prevent another Invasion. But
 having surmounted all by his own
 Care and the Patience of his Men
from

from the Example of their Leaders, he march'd near the Borders without any Opposition, though common Fame had made him expect the *Scotch* would give him Battle in *England*, and not the Trouble of so long a March.

But *Malcolm* their King, now destitute of Hopes or Assistances from any forreign Confederates, or any Insurrections in *England*, after the late Disasters of the discontented Lords began to cool the Heats of his Blood, and instead of further invading *England*, changed his Counsels, and resolved only upon a defensive War. At the News of King *William's* Entrance into the Northern Provinces, he quitted *Northumberland*, and with good Order retreated back to the Borders, and there encamped his Army to the best Advantage, without making any further Incurfions into the
English

English Territories, either to secure his Provisions, or not to provoke his Enemies, and render all Terms of Reconcilement desperate, or not to endanger his Retreat in case of any Disaster.

The King of *England* approaching the Borders, and thereby the *Scotch Army*, thought fit likewise to encamp his own, both to refresh his Soldiers, harrafs'd by so long and difficult a March, as also to discover the Forces of the Enemy, observe their Countenance, their Order and their Motions, and thereby judge of their Designs, and direct his own to the best Advantage: So that for some Days the two Armies stood at a Bay, seeming both prepar'd for a fierce Encounter, and yet both content to delay it, from a mutual Respect they had for one anothers Forces and Dispositions. They were indeed not much

unequal in Numbers, nor in the Bravery and order of their Troops; both Kings were valiant and wise, having been train'd up in Arms, inured to Dangers, and much embroiled at home in the Beginning of their Reigns : They were now animated to a Battle, by their own Courage as well as their Soldiers, but yet both considered the Event, in the Uncertainty and the Consequence ; the Loss of a Battle might prove the Loss of a Crown, and the Fortune of one Day determine the Fate of a Kingdom ; and they knew very well, that whoever fights a Battle, with what Number and Forces, what Provisions and Orders or Appearances soever of Success, yet at the best runs a Venture, and leaves much at the Mercy of Fortune, from Accidents not to be foreseen by any Prudence, or governed by any Conduct or Skill,

Skill. These Reflections began to dispose both Kings to the Thoughts of ending their Quarrel by a Peace rather than a Battle, and though both had the same Inclination, yet each of them was unwilling first to discover it, lest it might be interpreted to proceed from Apprehensions of Weakness or Fears, and thereby dishearten their own Soldiers, or encourage their Enemies. The *Scotch* at length began the Overture, which was received by King *William*, with a Show of Indifference, but with a concealed Joy, and the more reasonable, as having the greater Stake, the less to win, and the more to lose by the Issue of a Battle. The first Parley was followed by a Treaty, and this, after some Debate, by a Peace, concluded as between equal Forces, so upon equal Conditions; each King to content himself

himself with the ancient Bounds of their several Kingdoms, whereof the Borders were agreed. Neither to invade one anothers Dominions, nor to assist the Enemies, or receive and protect the Rebels of each other ; Prisoners in the last or this War to be on both sides releas'd, and Subjects who desir'd to return, to be on both sides restor'd to their Country and Possessions.

Edgar, the Principal or most appearing Cause of the War, was included and provided for in this Treaty, to return into *England*, make his Submission to the King, renounce any further Claim to the Crown, and thereupon, not only to be restor'd to his own Possessions, with his Friends and Followers, but to be provided of a large and honourable Maintenance from the King during his Life. And thus this Storm, which threatned
both

both Kingdoms, with such fatal Dangers, and long Consequences, was of a sudden blown over ; a general Calm restor'd in the whole Island of *Britain*, and the two Kings return'd to enjoy the Fruits of a Peace, to which they had both contributed, by their equal Temper and Prudence, as well as by their equal Preparations for a War.

Soon after the King's Return, *Edgar* return'd into *England*, where he was very favourably receiv'd, and all Conditions of the Treaty perform'd, and ever after observ'd with Great Faith and Sincereness on both Parts. He had his Provisions and Revenue (agreed by the Treaty) fairly establish'd ; but being desirous to go to the Wars of the Holy Land, which was the common Humour of idle or devout Princes in that Age : He was furnish'd

nished by the King with great Sums of Money, to prepare and maintain a noble Equipage for that Journey. He there gained much Honour and Esteem, after which, returning into *England*, he passed the rest of his whole Life in the Ease and Security of a large but private Fortune; and perhaps happier than he might have done in the Contests and Dangers of Ambition, however they might have succeeded. A rare Example of Moderation in Prince *Edgar*, and of Magnanimity as well as Justice and Clemency in this King, and very different from several of his Successors, who defamed their Reigns by the Death of innocent Princes, for having only been born to just Rights of the Crown, without any appearing Means or Attempts to pursue them, or endanger the Possessors; thereby staining their Memories

ries, with the Blots both of Cruelty and Fear. For as Clemency is produced by Magnanimity and Fearlessness of Dangers, so is Cruelty by Cowardise and Fear, and argues not only a Depravedness of Nature, but also a Meanness of Courage, and Imbecillity of Mind; for which reason it is both hated by all that are within its Reach and Danger, and despised by all that are without.

The King upon his Return, began again to apply himself to the Arts of Peace, which consist chiefly in the preventing of future, as those of War, in the surmounting of present Dangers. And as nothing raises the Power of a Crown so much as weak and private Conspiracies against it, rashly undertaken by some few Discontents unsupported by any general Defections of the People, faintly pursued

and ending without Success ; so this Prince found his *Throne* and Authority more firmly establish'd in all appearance, by the happy Issue of the two late Wars, and the unfortunate Events of his Revolted Nobles : And now esteem'd himself more at Liberty from those *Regards* of his *English Subjects* and their Laws, which his unsettled State had made necessary upon his first Accession to the Crown. He was provok'd by the Rebellions of so many of the greatest *English Nobles* after their Fealty sworn to him : He was perswaded of the General Disaffection of the rest, and that the late *Insurrections* would have been found much deeper rooted and farther spread, if they had been attended with any Success. He thought the *English Lords* and *Bishops* had too great dependance of their Tenants and Vassals

fals upon them, and had themselves
 too little upon the Prince : Since
 they *esteemed* themselves neither
 bound to attend him in the Wars
 unless they pleas'd, nor to furnish
 the Expences unless by their own
 Consent in their *General Assemblies*;
 nor was he satisfy'd to have them
 judge of his *Necessities*, whom he
 thought likeliest to increase them
 or at least to desire them. He be-
 liev'd the *English* in general would,
 as long as they retain'd the *Saxon*
Laws and *Forms* of *Government*, ever
 be affected to the Race of their *Saxon*
Kings : And for this Reason he was
 thought to have encourag'd the *Voy-*
age of *Edgar* for the *Holy Land*, by
 so large Supplies of *Treasure*, under
 Pretence of that *Prince's* Honour,
 but from true Intentions of his
 own Safety. Besides, he found his
Treasures exhausted by the Great
 Charges of his two last Expediti-
 ons,

ons and the just rewards he had promised both his *Normans* and those of the *English*, who had well and faithfully served in them. Though he had once or twice (for 'tis left in doubt) levied the Tax of *Dane-gelt* upon the Threats of a *Danish Invasion*, and by an ancient Prerogative of the *Saxon Kings*, pretended or exercised upon that Occasion, yet he found it was not raised without great Murmur and Reluctancy of the People as well as the Nobles, who pretended to ancient Liberties, of paying no Taxes imposed without the Consent of their general Assemblies, which began in this King's or his Sons Time, first to be stiled *Parliaments*, according to the *Norman Phrase*, whereas they had by the *Saxons* been called *Gemoots*, and by their Latin Writers, Common Councils or general Assemblies of the

the Kingdom, though how composed is left uncertain, and has raised much Argument and Dispute.

All these Considerations either moved or augmented at this Time, a Design or Inclination of this King to change the whole Frame of the *English Government*, to abolish their ancient Laws and Customs, and introduce those of *Normandy*, by which he thought he should be more absolute, and too powerful to be again disturbed by any Insurrection, at home or any Invasions from his Enemies abroad.

So soon as he had digested and began to discover this Resolution, 'tis not to be imagined what a universal Discontent, and indeed Consternation it raised among all his *English Subjects*, who under so great a King attended by his victorious *Norman Forces*, reckoned up-
on

on no other Safety, but from the *Preservation* of their ancient *Laws*, whereof he had hitherto assur'd them. Whereupon the Whole People, sad and aggriev'd, as well as the Nobles, in an humble manner, but with universal *Agreement*, tendred an *easie* *Petition* to the King ; *Beseeching* him, in regard of his Oath made at the *Coronation*, and by the Soul of *St. Edward*, from whom he had the Crown and Kingdom , under whose *Laws* they were born and bred, that he vvould not change them, and deliver them up to *new* and *strange* *Laws* vvhich they understood not.

Upon this humble, but earnest Application of the Whole *English Nation*, united in their Desires upon this Occasion ; the King, before he resolv'd, thought at least it was of vveight to deserve the best *Deliberation*,

beration, and thereupon fell into serious Consultations upon it with his Council, whom he found much divided in their Debates. The *Normans* among them were for his Executing with Vigour what he had determin'd, for abolishing wholly the *English Laws*, introducing the *Norman*, and maintaining his Crown and Government, by the same means he had Gain'd them, which was by Force and Arms. They were *encouraged* in this Opinion by *presuming* it agreed with the *King's* Inclination, and were confirm'd by the *pressing Arguments* and *Advices* of his Brother Odon Bishop of *Bayeux*, a Man of a Violent Nature, arbitrary Humour and Will ; who in the time of the *King's* Absence, and his being left *Vice-gerent*, had exercis'd many Oppressions and cruel Exactions upon the *People*, and had rais'd more Clamour

mour and Hatred against the King's Government, than any Councils or Actions of his own.

This ambitious Prelate aspiring at the Papacy upon the next Election, and despairing to obtain it by any other Means than the Force of Money, neglected or refrained no Ways of heaping up Treasure, thought none so sure of encreasing his own as by advancing the King's, by an absolute Power over the Persons and Purfes of his Subjects.

The *English* of the Kings Council were of a different Opinion, but being Parties in the Case, had been little considered without the Support of *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who being born an *Italian* was impartial to *English* and *Normans*, esteemed much by both, and more by the King. He was a Man of sound natural Sense and universal Goodness, of general Know-

Knowledge, known Virtue, long Experience and approved Wisdom; free and disinterested, and in all Councils considering the King more than himself, and his true Service and Welfare of the Crown more than his Humour or his Inclination. The King ever advised with him in all the weighty Affairs of his Reign, allowed his Liberty and encouraged it, knowing him to be not only wise and good but faithful to his Interests and affectionate to his Person. Happy in the Choice or Fortune of such a Counsellor, and more in the Disposition of hearing and weighing such Advises as were never so different from his own Opinions or Inclinations. Nor is any thing more dangerous for a Prince than to consult only with Persons that he thinks are of his own Mind, or will be so when they know it, nor
more

more pernicious in a Counsellor than to give only such Advices as he thinks most agreeable to him that asks or receives them.

Lanfranc, upon this great and weighty Occasion, represented to the King, how much his Safety depended upon the general Satisfaction of his Subjects. That of these the *English* were much the greater Part, both in *Strength* and *Numbers*, that no People could be easie under any Laws, but such wherein they were born and bred : That all Innovations were odious, but none could be more so than this, as appear'd by so universal Agreement of the *English* in their Petition : That the Humility and Calmness of it was more dangerous than if any thing had been done in hot Blood, and the Refusal would be the more resented : That the Laws and Constitutions of this
 Realm

Realm had been *digested* by the
 wisest Councils, and confirm'd by
 a *long* Succession of their *Kings*.
 That under them the *Saxons* had
 been good and loyal Subjects, and
 their *Kings*, who ruled by these
 Laws, never troubl'd with any
 Seditions or Insurrections of their
 People. That besides Reason and
 Experience, *Religion* was concern'd
 in this Resolution, since the
King had already twice sworn
 solemnly, to observe them, so as a
 Change of them now would be
 tax'd not only of Injustice, but
 Impiety. That nothing was of so
 much Moment to a *Prince*, as
Reputation, and none more than that
 of being a *Religious Observer* of his
 Word and Promise, but especially
 of his Oaths, without which he
 could never be trusted by his
 Subjects or his Neighbours.

The *King* heard and weigh'd
 all

all their Reasons, and by them formed his own Judgment, which he ever trusted in the last Resort. Upon mature Deliberation as the Case required, he at length resolved not only to continue the Laws and Customs of the Realm, but to give the People new, and more evident Assurances of this resolution, in pursuance whereof he granted and confirmed them by a publick and open Charter, and thereby purchased the Hearts as well as Satisfaction of his *English Subjects*, whereof he reaped the Fruits, in his succeeding Troubles in *Normandy*, and his Wars with *France*.

Yet he could not refrain showing the Kindness he retained for his own Country and Language; introducing by Connivance or by Countenance, several *Norman Customs*, and endeavouring to introduce that Language to be general
 in

in the Kingdom. To this End he caused many Schools to be set up for teaching that Tongue which was a *Bastard French*, not well understood by the *French* themselves, and not at all by the *English*. He caused the Laws of the Kingdom, which had been anciently written in *Saxon*, and by *Edward* the Confessor published also in *Latin*, to be now translated into *Norman*. He ordered all Pleas in the several Courts to be made in the same Language, and all Petitions presented the King, and all Business of Court to be likewise in *Norman*. This introduced new Terms, new Forms of Pleading and of Process, new Names of Offices and of Courts, and with them all the litigious Customs and Subtelties of the *Norman Pleas* and *Conveyances* (who were a witty but contentious People) instead of the old *English Simp-*

plicity in their common Suits, Pleas, or Conveyances, which were plain, brief; without Perplexities, made with *good meaning*, kept with *good Faith*, and so follow'd by little Contention, and that determin'd by speedy Justice, and Decision of Monthly Courts in every County.

Among the *Saxons* it was usual to *grant* Lands and Houses by bare Words, and with the Delivery of some trivial Gift; as an Horn, a Sword, an Arrow, a Helmet; and yet the simple Honesty of those Times and People left such Grants little subject to any Disputes or Contentions. But the Conqueror reduc'd all Grants to *Writing*, to *Signature* and to *Witnesses*, which brought in Cavils and Actions *grounded* upon Punctilious Errors in Writing, Mistakes in Expression, which in much *writing* must sometimes

sometimes happen, either by Hast, Weakness, or perhaps by Fraud of Conveyancers, and with Design to leave matter of Contentions, by which they subsist as Physicians by Diseases.

Notwithstanding all these Arts of the Prince, and Industry of his Ministers to introduce the *Norman Language* in *England*, yet all was frustrated by the *Over-balance* of Numbers in the Nations, in proportion to the Strangers, and assisted by a general Aversion in the *English* to change their *Language*, which they thought would be succeeded by that of their *Laws* and *Liberties*: So that in this very Reign, instead of the *English* speaking *Norman*, the *Normans* began generally by force of Intermarriages, ordinary Commerce and Conversation, to use the *English Tongue*, which has ever since continu'd and

composed the main Body of our Language, though changed like others, by Mixture of many new Words and Phrases, not only introduced by the great Revolution, but by the Uses and Accidents of each succeeding Age.

It seems very remarkable, and very different what happened in *Scotland* about this Time, and upon this Subject; for upon the great Recourse of English Nobles and Gentlemen into *Scotland*, seeking Refuge from the first Dangers and Terrors of the *Norman Conquest*; and afterwards of many more who fled there in Pursuit of *Edgar's* Pretensions, and joyned with the *Scots* in two Invasions of *England*; but chiefly upon *Malcolm's* fond Affection of his *English Wife*, Sister to Prince *Edgar*, his Learning and commonly using or favouring her Language, the usual Compliance
and

and Conformity of Courtiers to the Customs of their Prince, and the general Humour of Kindness in the *Scots*, at that time to the Person or Rights of *Edgar*, and to all his Adherents, that lost their own Country to follow his Fortunes; the *English Language* grew in this King's Reign to be generally spoken not only in the Court of *Scotland*, but in several Countries thereunto adjacent, and among most of the Nobles in remoter Provinces, and so it has ever since remained, as have many *English Families* in those Parts, habituated, and with Time naturalized among them; and the ancient barbarous *Scotch Tongue* has been left current, only in the more Northern or Northwest and mountainous Parts of that Kingdom, and in the Islands that seem to have been first and most entirely possessed by the *Scyths* or

Scots, who so long ago invaded and conquer'd the Northern Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

The Contrary of this unusual Change in *Language*, appears to have succeeded in *England*, since in a little time nothing remain'd of the *Norman Language* in common use, besides the Translation of our Common Law, which though deduc'd from the ancient *Saxon* Streams, yet the Sound, and Forms, and Practice came to be Norman, like Rivers which still run from their *Original Sources*, but yet often change their Taste from the Soils through which they take their course, and sometimes from Accidents of great Inundations, which for the present change them, but leave them to return to their natural Streams. A singular and instructive Example, how *strange* a Difference there is in the Compliance

Compliance of a Nation, with the Humour of a Prince they love, or of one they fear.

Besides these *Changes* in the *Language* of our Laws, and the Forms of Pleas which were generally disaffected by the *English* Subjects ; this *Norman* King, either upon pretence of Justice and Piety, or else of Necessity and Safety, abolish'd several ancient *Saxon* Institutions, and made several new, which, how reasonable or how useful soever, yet bred ill Blood among the Nobles and Clergy of *England*, tho' the People contented themselves with the Continuance of their ancient Laws, and thought all they did or suffer'd for the King's Service, well rewarded, while they might preserve what they called the *Laws* of *Edward the Confessor* : And the *King* was so wise as often to renew his Oath,
to

to maintain them for the general Satisfaction of the People.

For the rest, he took all Jurisdiction and Judgment in civil Causes wholly out of the Hands of the Bishops, where it had been placed in the whole *Saxon Succession*, after their Conversion to Christianity : And restrained the Clergy to the Exercise and Administration of their Ecclesiastical Power. He endeavoured to abolish two ancient Forms of Trial used among the *Saxons* with great Reverence, even during their Christian Worship, though they were but Reminders of their old Pagan Superstition, but so rooted in the Opinion of the people, as not to be dispossessed by new Reason or Religion ; These were the Trials *Ordeal*, and of *Camp-fight*. The first was either by Fire or by Water, and used only in Criminal Cases, where the Accusation

tion was strong, the Suspicions great, but no Proofs evident. In that of Fire the Person accused was brought into an open Place upon even Ground, several Plow-shares heated red hot were laid before them, at unequal Distances, over which they were to walk blindfold, and if they escaped any Harm were adjudged innocent ; if their Feet were burned by treading upon the hot Irons, they were condemned as guilty. In the other of Water, the accused were thrown into the Water, if they sunk immediately they were esteemed innocent ; and guilty if they swam, either because it seemed against the Nature of heavy Bodies, or that the clear Element would not receive them, but reject them as polluted Persons. The first Trial was for those of better Condition, and the other for those of inferior, and

and both were chiefly us'd upon Accusations of Unchastity, of Poysoning or of Sorcery.

These *Trials*, though grounded upon no Reason, yet were *thought* approv'd by *long Experience*, and the rather I suppose, because any succeeding Proofs of Innocence were as difficult to find, as any precedent Evidence of Guilt. And they were commonly call'd the *Judgments of God*, and perform'd with solemn Oraisons, and other Ceremonies that amus'd or rather enchanted the ignorant People into an Opinion of their being sacred as well as just.

The *Trials of Camp-fight* were perform'd by single Combat, in Lists appointed for that Purpose, between the Accuser and Accused, and were usual in Actions both real and criminal, *where* no evident Proof of Fact appear'd from Witnesses

nesses or other Circumstances : the Victor vvas acquitted , and the Vanquish'd , if not killed upon the Field, was condemn'd. These were perform'd with Great Solemnities, and either in Presence of the *King* vvho granted the Combat, or of certain *Judges*, by him appointed for that particular Case : Both these sorts of *Trials* this *King* abolish'd as unchristian and unjust, and reduc'd all Causes to the Judgment of Equals, or of a Jury of *twelve* Neighbours, and by legal Forms : Yet the last vvas some *few times* used in succeeding Reigns.

In the *Beginnings* of his Reign the Kingdom had been much infested by *Outlaws* and by *Robbers* , and many *Normans* were secretly murther'd by the Hatred of the *English*, as they pass'd alone upon the Ways or the Fields, especially in
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the Night. To remedy this last Mischiefe, he imposed a heavy Fine upon the Hundred where the Body of any *Norman* should be found slain whether any Discovery were made or no of the Author or Complice of the Fact. For all Rapes and Robberies, he caused them to be punished so severely by cruel Mutilation of Members, and Hardships of Labour, as left them miserable Spectacles or Warnings of their Crimes, during the rest of their Lives. By the Rigour of these Courses, and cutting off the chief Cause of such Offences which grow from Idleness and Expences, he reduced the whole Realm to such Security, that 'tis recorded in his Time, how a fair Maiden with a Purse of Gold in her Hand, might have travelled through the Realm without any Danger offered to her Honour or her Money.

Besides,

Besides, to prevent any Crimes that might be committed by Favour or Encouragement of the Night. He ordered a Bell to be rung in each Parish at eight a Clock in the Winter, and nine in the Summer, after which every Man was to cover his Fire, and stir no more abroad that Night: And this was for that Reason called the Corfew or Couvrefew Bell.

For the Safety of his State he erected several Castles in many Places most convenient of the Kingdom, among which was the Tower of *London*, and *New Castle* upon *Tyne* (either built or by this King much enlarged) and garrisoned them by *Norman* or *English* Soldiers, but all such as he most trusted, and who were ready in Arms upon all Occasions. Yet these Forts were look'd upon by the *English* as unnecessary in the Times of Peace,
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and as Bridles upon the *Liberties* of the *People*, rather than *Preventions* of *Dangers* to the *Crown*.

After these *Institutions* he apply'd himself to the *Increase*, *Order* and *Establishment* of his *Revenue*, and having (as he believ'd) satisfy'd the *People* in general, by the *Confirmation* of their ancient and belov'd *Laws*; he thought he might be bolder with the *Clergy* vvhom he *knew* to be generally his *Enemies*, and *whose* *Clamours* he the less fear'd from his *own known* *Piety*, in frequenting *Divine* *Worship*, in building and endowing several *Monasteries*, in *Presents* to many *Churches* both in *England* and *Normandy*, but especially in *Great Treasures* vvhich he sent frequently to *Rome*. Therefore, upon *pretence* of his *Enemies* in the *two* last *Revolts* (and such as vvere design'd to be their *Complices*) having

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convey'd their Plate, Money, and Jewels into the *several Monasteries* throughout the Kingdom ; he caus'd all the rich Abbies to be search'd ; their Mony, Plate, and Jewels which were not necessary or of common use in Divine Service, to be seiz'd ; and thereby brought at once a *mighty Treasure* into his Coffers, but an *inveterate Hatred* of the Clergy upon his Person and Reign ; and this was the last of those Actions that by the Envenom'd Pens of the Monkish Writers of that Age, left such a Charge upon the Memory of this Prince, by the Imputation of Cruelty, Oppression, Violence, Exaction, and the Breach or Change of Laws of the Kingdom either Human or Divine, though the same Authors little consider how ill this *agrees* with the High Characters they *themselves* give of his Personal

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Qualities and Virtues. Nor is it probable that so vicious Actions should proceed from so virtuous Dispositions, or that so noble and excellent Qualities of any Prince should be esteemed by the present Age, or celebrated to Posterity, which had been accompanied by cruel, infamous or depraved Actions during his Life.

Having with these Spoils of the Clergy, as well as by the many Forfeitures of the revolted Nobles, replenished his Coffers for the present, he extended the Care of his Revenue, not only to what might arrive in his own Life, but also in the Times of succeeding Kings. To this End he sent Commissioners into all the several Countries of the whole Realm, who took an exact Survey, and described in a Censural Roll or Book, all the Lands, Titles and Tenures throughout the whole

whole Kingdom. In this were distinctly set down, not only every Barony, each Knights Fee, every Plow-land, but also what Owners, by what Tenures, at what Rents or Duties they held, and what Stock they were possessed of, and how many Villens upon their respective Estates. All Lands that held anciently of the Crown, or were by this King disposed upon Forfeitures, he subjected to the usual Tenures of Baronies or Knight's Fees, reserving in all the Dominion in chief to himself, some Quitrents or Fines upon Death and Alienation, and likewise the Custody of all Heirs of such Lands as were left under Age, and the Disposal of their Fortunes, besides what was assigned for their Maintenance till they came to Years of disposing their Estates and themselves.

This Book was composed after two old Examples of the same kind, in the Times of *Ethelbert* and *Alfred*, and was laid up as sacred in the Church of *Winchester*, and for that Reason, as graver Authors say, was called *Liber Domûs Dei*, and by Abbreviation, *Domesday Book*. The vulgar Account is, that the Name was deriv'd from the Nature, and so call'd, because every Man was to receive his Doom by that Book, upon any Dispute about the Value, Tenure, Payments, or Services of his Lands, upon Collection of the King's ordinary Revenue, or the raising of any extraordinary Taxes or Impositions. And to make a President for the future, or to satisfy the great Expences the King had been at, for the compiling this great Roll of the Kingdom, six Shillings was rais'd upon every Plow-

Plow-land, which made the Design of it less agreeable to the People, though every Man's Right thereby receiv'd a new Evidence, and no Injustice was complain'd of, in the Digestion of so difficult a Work, and of so various a nature. By this means the King came to an easie and exact Knowledge of his whole constant Revenue, and so proportion'd it to his Expences, and the necessary Cares of having always a *Fond*, or *Reserve*, of present *Treasure* in his Coffers ; that after this time we never find him plung'd in any Difficulties, for want of Mony to supply many great Occasions that ensu'd in his Reign, nor tempted to impose any Taxes upon his Subjects, or other Duties than what were common and known, and paid without Pressure or Discontent among the Commonalty of the Realm ; so after all these

Institutions, he passed several Years in great Tranquillity at home, as well as Honour from all his Neighbour Princes.

About the thirteenth Year of his Reign he went into *Normandy*, leaving his Brother *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and created Earl of *Kent*, his Vice-gerent in *England* : and little apprehending any Storm after so long a Fit of fair Weather, or that he had left any ill Blood behind him that was like to gather to a Head, with such an Inflammation, and so dangerous Symptoms as soon after appeared. But no Condition of Human Life is ever perfectly secure, nor any Force of Greatness or of Prudence beyond the Reach of Envy, and the Blows of Fortune. Princes as well as private Men are often in most Danger at those Times, and in those Parts they think themselves

selves the safest, as strong Towers
 are sometimes taken on those sides
 that are thought impregnable, and
 so left undefended or little regard-
 ed. This conquering King esteem-
 ed himself now at Ease, for the re-
 mainder of his Life, and not only
 safe in his own Strength, but the
 Satisfaction of his Subjects. The
English he had pleased in general,
 by the Preservation of their ancient
 Laws; the bravest and warmest
 Blood of their Nobles was drawn
 in the Battle of *Hastings*, or the
 Wars with *Scotland*; their Power
 was weakened by so many Confis-
 cations, and the Retreat of many
 more into *Scotland* and *Ireland*.
 The *Normans* were strong and nu-
 merous in *England*, and were his
 own by Birth and by Interest;
 the Ballance of these two Parties
 seemed the Safety of the whole,
 and it was not to be imagined, that

both should combine in any Danger to the Crown. Besides, there was left no Pretension of any better Right or Title than his own, since *Edgar* had laid down his, not only in Shew, but with firm Resolutions never to resume them.

But many of the *English* Nobles still hated the Name of a Conquest, resented the Change of Forms and Language in their *Laws*, the Introduction of any new Customs, but especially the Rigor of the *Forrest Laws*, which they knew to be arbitrary, and esteem'd not only a restraint of their innocent *Liberties*, but an Indignity in particular to themselves. Some of the chief *Norman* Lords, who had obtain'd Great Possessions by the King's Bounty, and the Confiscations of the *English* being now invested in their *Lands* and
 their

their Titles, began to grow fond of their *Laws*, as the safest Tenure, and though they had gain'd their great Estates by the Favour of the *King*, yet they were not willing to hold them at his Pleasure, and so joyn'd with the *English* Nobles in the Complaints of too great *Power* exercis'd by the King, and the Jealousies of greater yet design'd, to the Prejudice of the ancient Constitutions of the Kingdom, and diminution of the Authority or Dependances of the Nobles. Some of both Nations, and equally ambitious Spirits, who had been most favour'd and advanc'd by the King, yet valuing their own Merits too high, or their Rewards too low, thought they had nothing, because they had not all they pretended, esteem'd the King's Favour or Bounty to any others, as Injury to themselves, and were as
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unsatisfied with what they had gained, as others with what they had lost.

These Dispositions floating at first in the Minds of several great Nobles, both *English* and *Norman*, and enflamed by such of the Ecclesiasticks who had Credit in the great Families of both Nations, grew at length to downright Conspiracy of dispossessing the King of his Crown, and introducing the *Danes*, who were allied to many great Lords in *England*, and were esteemed by the *Normans* of the same Race with their Ancestors. The chief of this Conspiracy were the Earls of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, of greatest Power among the *English* Nobility ; *Fitz-Auber*, a *Norman*, of near Kindred to the King, and who had assisted him with forty Ships, upon his *English Expedition*; and been recompenced with mighty

ty Possessions in *England*, and created Earl of *Hereford*. The Earl *Waltheof*, who had been pardoned after his Revolt upon the *Scotch Invasion*, married to the King's Niece; and ever since intimately trusted, as well as favoured by the King. These entred secretly into Intelligence with *Swain*, King of *Denmark*, and with *Harald's* Sons, who were still refuged in *Ireland*: The first ingaged to invade the Northern Parts with a Navy of three hundred Sail, the last, by the Assistance of *Drone* King of *Ireland*, to attempt the Western Coasts with sixty Ships, and the discontented Lords to make a strong Insurrection in some of the Northern Provinces, upon Approach of the Danish Fleet, which was concerted to be soon after the Kings intended Journey into *Normandy*.

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These Measures were laid with such Caution, and pursu'd with such Secrefie, that all was ready to be executed, before the *King* in *Normandy*, or his Ministers in *England*, had either Notice or Suspicion of any such Dangers or Designs. *Fitz Auber* had ask'd the King's Leave some Months before his *Norman* Journey, to marry his Sister to the Earl of *Norfolk*, and pretended some small Discontent at his Refusal. Not long after his Departure, he declar'd the Marriage, and the Day appointed to consummate it in *Norfolk* with great Solemnity, and the Recourse of the nearest Relations, and most intimate Friends on both sides, among whom were the Earl *Waltheof* and *Eustace* Earl of *Bologne*, who came over on purpose to assist at the Consultations here design'd. At this Meeting all was agreed in what

what Parts of the *Kingdom*, under what Leaders, the several Insurrections should be made, upon what Pretences, and the Time appointed to be when the Danish Fleet should appear upon the Coast.

But some Delays intervening, which are fatal to all Conspiracies that are trusted into many Hands, this was discover'd some Days before the *Danes* arriv'd; but by *whom* of the Accomplices is left uncertain, though some *write* that it was by Earl *Waltbeof*, upon the Conscience of so Great an Ingratitude to the King.

After the full and particular Discovery of the *whole Plot*, and all the chief Conspirators; *Odon* the Vice-gerent, with the Assistance and Advice of the King's Council, immediately dispatched avway several Parties of the King's
best

best Troops, into the several Parts where the Insurrections were intended to begin, seized upon many of the Conspirators, before others had Notice of the Discovery, broke the rest before they could draw to a Head; took Earl *Waltheof* and *Fitz-Anber* Prisoners, who were beheaded upon this Occasion, and many others imprisoned. Whether this Execution was by the Kings Command out of *Normandy*, or by the Rigour of his Brother *Odon*, and upon pretence of Necessity in so dangerous a Conjunction, is not recorded; but tis agreed, that these two were the only Nobles that were executed in *England* during the Reign of *William* the Conqueror, notwithstanding so many Revolts, and so much Power to punish and revenge them; which serves to make up that Character of Clemency of Nature, that

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is allowed this Prince, among his other Virtues, even by those Writers who are severest upon his Memory.

Both the *Danes* and the *Irish* Fleets were upon the *English* Coasts, when they first received the News of their Confederates Discovery and Disasters, upon which they returned to *Denmark* and to *Ireland*, and after this Time the *Danes* never again attempted any Invasion upon *England*, nor was this Conqueror any more infested or disturbed by any of his *English* Subjects, during the rest of his Reign, finding the Conspiracy wholly suppressed and the Kingdom in perfect Tranquillity upon his Return, which he had yet hastened out of *Normandy*, upon the Intelligence of his Danger in *England*, and Ignorance how deep it was rooted, or where it might end.

Nor

Nor was it easie to conjecture, since it was believ'd by Wise Men in that *Age*, that the Weakness and ill Success of this Conspiracy proceeded chiefly from the Want of some popular Pretension, that might have rais'd a Commotion of the People in favour of the Lords, and that if this had been design'd in Defence of *Edgar's known Rights* to the Crown, and spirited by that *Prince* at the Head of so many *English* and *Norman Lords*, as were engag'd in it, the Throne had been endanger'd by this last Shake. But the unfortunate Prince *Edgar* had made his first Pretensions too late, and his last Submissions too soon; and the Danish Title was hated by the Commons of *England*, though favour'd by many of the Nobles, and thereby wanted the Foundation, proper and necessary to raise any
firm

firm Building. Thus the Infelicity of some *Princes* may be occasion'd only by ill timing their Councils, when to attempt, and when to desist, in the justest Endeavours; and the Greatness of others may be rais'd and preserv'd by unforeseen Accidents, where the Greatest Reach of Foresight and Conduct might have fail'd. For had *Edgar* been at Liberty to pursue his Rights upon this Conjunction of the *English* and *Norman* Nobility, he might probably have gain'd the Crown; and had not some of the chief Complices discover'd the Conspiracy, the Conqueror might as probably have lost it.

However these Fortunes came to attend him, thus far of his Reign, yet here the Curtain may be *drawn* over the happy Scenes of this Prince's Life: for the next that must open, will represent him

in the Decline of his Age, imbroiled in Domestick Quarrels, which could neither end in Glory nor in Gains; assaulted by his own Children, opposed by his Native Subjects, forced to use Strangers to reduce them to Duty and Obedience, after two dangerous Revolts; and when these Troubles were appeased, after much Anguish of Mind, and many Dangers, engaged by a trivial Accident, and without any Design, in a foreign War with a powerful Prince, which though pursued with his usual Vigor and Fortune, it first cost him his Health, and at last his Life.

William the Conqueror had by his Wife *Matild*, Daughter to *Baldwin*, Count of *Flanders*, four Sons, *Robert*, *Richard*, *William*, and *Henry*, besides several Daughters. *Richard* was a Prince of the greatest Hopes,

Hopes, but unfortunately killed by a Stag, while he was hunting in the New Forrest; his untimely Fall was much lamented by the King, but less by the People, who interpreted it as a Judgment upon him for the mighty Wastes he had made to extend the Bounds of that Forrest, and for the Rigor and Oppression of the Forrest Laws. The other three survived their Father, but with very different Fortunes as well as Merits, and very unequally distributed.

The King, before his Expedition into *England*, had promised his eldest Son *Robert* the Dukedom of *Normandy*, in case he conquered the Kingdom he then pretended; this Promise was made before the King of *France*, and challenged by *Robert* after the King's first Establishment upon the *English* Throne. But the King,

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though

tho' he deny'd not the Promise he had made, yet long delay'd the Performance, upon pretence his unsettl'd State in *England*, from the Discontents of his Nobles, and the *Scotch Invasions*, which made it necessary for him to keep *Normandy* as a Retreat upon any Great Misfortune, or Revolution in *England*. Duke Robert seem'd content with these Reasons, whilst they were justify'd by the Appearances of any Dangers in *England*, but perceiving they were ceas'd, and yet the Delays continu'd, he grew at length impatient, and about the Fourteenth Year of the King's Reign assum'd the Government of *Normandy*, as Sovereign, and in his own Right, caus'd the Barons to swear Fealty to him, as to the Duke, and not as his Father's Lieutenant, and was receiv'd and obey'd by the *Normans*, who
grew

grew weary of a Subordinate Government, and thought they deserv'd the Presence of their Prince among them, which they had enjoy'd since the first Establishment of their Possessions in *France*.

Besides, *Robert* was generally belov'd, as a Prince courteous, generous, and brave, tho' withal, ambitious, unquiet, and uncertain; yet these Dispositions, both of Prince and People, had not alone induc'd him to *engage* in so bold a Resolution, with such a Breach of his Duty and his Trust, without the Practices and Instigations of the King of *France*, who *grown* jealous of King *William's* Greatness, and envious of his Felicity, found no better Way of *lessening* both, than to kindle this Fire in his own House, and thereby the most sensibly to disquiet his Mind, as well

as to disjoynt his State, and divide his Power. He therefore, not only encouraged *Robert*, but combined with him in this Attempt, and engaged to support him with his Forces, if his Father disputed longer the Justice of his Claim.

The King, though at first discomposed at the News of this Insolence in his Son, yet believing it had no deeper Root, but what would soon wither or be cut off, by his Presence in *Normandy*, gathered immediately what Forces he could raise, and with an Army of his *English* Subjects, sailed over now to invade *Normandy*, as he had done before to invade *England* with his *Normans*. A strange Revolution, to befall one Prince, in so short a Period of time ; and which made as great a Change in his Dispositions as his Fortunes ; for the great Alacrity and Faithfulness which

which the *English* expressed towards him in this Expedition, gained so far upon his Affections and Confidence, that in the rest of his Reign and his succeeding Wars, he seemed to place his chief Trust in the Courage and Loyalty of his *English* Subjects.

Duke *Robert*, informed of his Father's Preparations, neglected not his own, and though surpris'd at the Suddenness of his Arrival, to which the Winds had conspired, he could not oppose his Landing; yet soon after he was in the Field at the Head of a brave *Norman* Army, and of two thousand Men at Arms which the King of *France* had sent to his Assistance. With these Forces he march'd against the King, fell upon his Vanguard, and by the Success of an Ambush he had laid in an advantageous Pass, he broke them, killed some, and

put the rest to flight ; then he
 advanc'd against the main Body,
 where the King commanded, and
 by an unnatural Chance, he charg'd
 his old Father with such Fury,
 that by the Stroak of his *Launce* he
 wounded him in the Arm, and
 overthrew him to the Ground. The
 King calling out upon his Fall, his
 Son immediately knew his Voice ;
 and stung upon the sudden, with
 the Conscience of his Crime and
 his Duty, he leapt from his Horse,
 rais'd his Father up from the
 Ground, fell down upon his Knees,
 begg'd Pardon of his Offence, with
 Offers upon it, to return to his
 Duty and Obedience. The *King*
 mov'd by the same Force of
 Nature, receiv'd his Submissions,
 forgave him, and embracing him,
 ended an Adventure in Tears of Joy,
 which had begun in Blood. The
 Armies were as easily reconciled as
 their

their Leaders, and all together marched to *Rouen*, where the *King* was receiv'd with all demonstrations of Joy, and the *Duke* complimented upon his happy Reconciliation with his Father ; nor were those the last in this Croud of Rejoicers, who had been the chief in promoting the Quarrel between them.

The *King* made no long Stay in *Normandy*, dissembling the Knowledge or Resentment of what Part the *French King* had played in this Affair ; but after having re-established the Quiet and Order of the Province, returned with his whole Forces into *England*, left his Son in the Government of *Normandy*, trusting to his Duty, and the Loyalty of his *Subjects* there, as if nothing had past to give him the least Suspensions of either. A true Strain of the Noble and Fearless Nature

Nature of this Prince, who was rather made to surmount all Dangers he encountred, by brave Actions and judicious Councils, than either to invite or anticipate his Misfortunes by Distrust and vain Apprehensions, which are but the Distractions of weak and timorous Minds.

Yet this Sincereness and Confidence of the King had not the Return they deserved; for Duke Robert having once tasted the Sovereign Power, could not long digest any Dependance upon another Will; and lying still open to the Practises of *France*, upon his Levity and Ambition, relapsed the next Year into his former Distemper, and assumed again the Sovereignty of *Normandy*, and as Duke thereof in his own Right, which was again acknowledged, and obeyed by the *Normans*.
The King upon the News of this

this second Defection in his Son and his Subjects, fell into a great Passion and in it is said to have cursed his Son and the Hour wherein he begat him ; but soon returning to himself, with his usual Judgment and Composure of Mind, gave present Orders for preparing a much greater Army and Navy, than he had used in last Years Expedition ; and though both were shattered by great Storms, he met with at Sea, yet upon his Arrival in *Normandy*, either the Fame of his Forces, or the Lightness of his Son's Dispositions, or Remorse of his Duty, prevailed with Duke *Robert*, to offer again his Submissions, and Obedience to his Commands. The King again received them, pardoned both his Son and his Revolted Subjects, but forced now to more Caution than he had used before; after having settled once more, the Peace
and

and Quiet of *Normandy*, and placed the Government in safer Hands, he took his Son with him into *England*, and imploy'd him in the hard rough Wars of *Scotland* against *Malcolm*, who upon the King's Absence and Confidence of being long detain'd by the *Norman* Revolt, and Diver-
sion of *France*, had taken occasion to pass the Borders with an Army, and ravage the Northern Provinces of *England*.

Though Duke *Robert* gained no Great Honour by this Expedition, yet the *King* gain'd his End: For the *Scotch* dishearten'd by his unexpected Return, and more by his perfect Reconcilement with his Son, return'd home, upon the Approach of the *English* Army, and renewed the Peace, which lasted the rest of the two *Kings* Lives.

About the same time, incensed against the *Welsh*, for many Inroads
and

and Spoils upon the Frontier Counties ; he sent an Army *against* them, subdu'd the plain and accessible Parts of their Country, drove them to the fast Holds of their Mountains, forc'd them to sue for Peace, which he *granted* upon *Homage* done him by their Prince, and upon *Hostages* given for performance of the other Conditions.

This fortunate and victorious *King* seemed now to have passed all the tempestuous Seasons of his Life, and secure of Repose for what remained, which was necessary, or most *agreeable* to the Great *Decline* of his *Age*. He was at Peace with all his *Neighbours*, obey'd and honoured by his Subjects, feared by his Enemies, and the Troubles of his Family were wholly appeased, so that it was hard for any Man to conjecture from what Side any new Storm should arise.

arise. But the Decrees of Heaven are wrapped up in the Clouds, and the Events of future things, hidden in the dark, from the Eyes of Mortal Men. The wisest Councils may be discomposed by the smallest Accidents, and the securest Peace of States and Kingdoms may be disturbed by the lightest Passions as well as the deep Designs of those who govern them: For though the wise Reflections of the best Historians, as well as the common Reasonings of private Men, are apt to ascribe the Actions and Councils of Princes to Interests or Reasons of State, yet whoever can trace them to their true Spring, will be often forced to derive them from the same Passions and personal Dispositions which govern the Affairs of private Lives, as will be evident in the Sequel of this King's Reign.

The *Normans* were desirous to
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have a Prince of their Race reside among them; the King was unwilling to venture again the ill Consequences of his Son *Robert's* Ambition or Inconstancy ; and therefore sent him over into *Normandy*, but joyned in Commission with his youngest Son *Henry*, whose Duty and Affection he most relied on, both to observe the Actions, and temper the Levity of his eldest Brother.

These two Princes agreed better than is usual to Associates in Power ; and governing the Province with Moderation and Prudence, reduced Affairs there to such Order and Tranquillity, that having little Business at home, they went to seek some Diversion abroad, and made a Visit to the King of *France* then at *Constance* , who received them with great Honour and Kindness and, as was thought, not without

out Design of Renewing old Practices with Duke *Robert* to his Father's Prejudice : Whatever Affairs might busie the *Thoughts* of that *King* and the *Duke*, those of *Lewis* the *young Dauphin*, and Prince *Henry* were taken up with the common Entertainments of Youth and of Leisure, Love, Hunting, Play, and other such *Divertisements*, wherein the Similitude of *Age* and of *Customs* made them constant Companions. It happen'd one *Evening*, that the *Dauphin* playing at *Chess* at the Prince's Lodging, lost a great many Games, and much Money to Prince *Henry*, and grew thereupon first into *ill Humour*, and at length into *ill Language*, which being return'd by the Prince, the *Dauphin* flew into Passion, call'd him Son of a Bastard, and threw some of the *Chessmen* at his Head ; Upon which Prince *Henry* en-

enrag'd, took up the *Chess-Board*, and struck the Dauphin with such Fury on the Head, that he laid him bleeding on the Ground, and had kill'd him if his Brother *Robert* had not retain'd him, and made him sensible how much more it concerned him to make his Escape than pursue his Revenge, and thereupon they went down immediately, took Horse, and by the Help of their Speed, or their own good Fortune, got safe to *Pontoise* before they could be reach'd by the *French* that pursu'd them.

The King of *France*, exasperated by this Accident and Indignity to his Son, which reviv'd an inveterate Malice or Envy he had against King *William*, first demanded Satisfaction, but at the same time prepar'd for *Revenge*, both by raising an Army to invade *Normandy*, and taking private Measures with

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Duke

Duke Robert, to divest his Brother Henry of his Share in the Government, and leave the Dominion of that Dutchy to the Duke according to his former Pretensions, grounded upon his Father's Promise, wherein the King of *France*, as a Witness, still pretended to be concerned.

The King of *England* seeing the War inevitable, enters upon it with his usual Vigor, and with incredible Celerity transporting a brave *English* Army, invades *France*, and takes several Towns in *Poitou*, whilst the *French* took the City of *Vernon*, by which Hostilities on both sides, the first War began between *England* and *France*, which seemed afterwards to have been entailed upon the Posterity and Successors of these two Princes, for so many Generations, to have drawn more noble Blood, and been attended with

with more memorable Atchievements than any other National Quarrel we read of, in any ancient or modern Story.

King *William*, after taking of several Towns, and spoiling much Country in *Poitou* and *Xantonge*, returned to *Rouen*, where by the Benignity of his own Nature, and Levity of his Son's, he was the third time reconciled to Duke *Robert*, and thereby disappointed those Hopes the King of *France* had conceived from his Practises with that Prince (and, as some write, with his Brother *Henry* too) and defeated his Pretext of assisting his Right in the Dominion of *Normandy*.

But *Philip* bent upon this War, by other Incentives, than those which appeared from the Favour of Duke *Robert's* Pretensions, or Revenge of the Dauphin's Injury, and moved,

both with the Jealousie of the *King's* Greatness, and the Envy of his Glory and Felicity, resolv'd to prosecute obstinately the Quarrel he had rashly begun, and not esteeming the sudden, tho' violent Motions of a youthful Heat between the two Princes, a Ground sufficient to bear the Weight of a formal and declar'd War; upon the News and Spite of Duke *Robert's* Reconciliation with his Father, he sent to the *King* to demand Homage of him both for *Normandy* and *England*: King *William* answer'd that he was ready to do him the Homage accustom'd for *Normandy*, but would do him none for *England*, which he held only of God and his Sword. The *French King* hereupon declar'd open War against him, which was begun and pursu'd with Great Heats and Animosities on both sides, with

with equal Forces, but unequal Fortune ; which favour'd either the Justice of the *King's* Cause, the Valour of his Troops, or the Conduct of their Leader upon all Encounters.

He march'd into *France*, took *Nantes* and burnt it, with many *Villages* about it, saying, That to destroy the Wasps, their Nests must be burnt. In the Heat of this Action, and by that of the Fires, which he too near approach'd, he fell into a Distemper which forc'd him to retire his Army, and return to *Rouen*, where he lay sick for some time with ill Symptoms, that gave his Friends Apprehension, and Hopes to his Enemies. During the Expectation of the Event, both sides were quiet by a sort of tacit and voluntary Truce between them. The *King* of *France* talking of his Sickness, and

mocking at the Corpulency to which he was grown of late Years, said, King *William* was gone only to lay his great Belly at *Rouen*, and that he doubted he must be at Charge to set up Lights at his uprising. The King of *England* being told this Scoff, sent King *Philip* Word, That he was ready to sit up after his lying in, and that when he was churched, he would save him the Charge of setting up Lights, and come himself, and light a thousand Fires in *France*.

No Injuries are so sensible to Mankind in general, as those of Scorn; and no Quarrels pursued between Princes with so much Sharpness and Violence, as those which arise from personal Animosities or private Passions, to which they are subject like other Mortal Men. The King recovered, gathers the greatest Forces he could raise,

raise, both of *English* and *Normans*, marches into the *Isle of France*, with Fire and Spoil, where ever he came, approaches within Sight of *Paris*, where that King was retired. There King *William* sent him word that he was up and abroad, and would be glad to see him abroad too.

But the *French King* resolved to let this Fury pass, and appeared not in the Field, which was left to the Mercy and Ravage of his Enemies. The King, riding about to observe his Advantages, and give his Orders, and straining his Horse to leap a Ditch in his Way, bruised the Bottom of his Belly against the Pommel of his Saddle, with such a Weight, and so much Pain, as gave him a Relapse of his Illness so lately recovered, forced him to march his Army back into *Normandy*, and to go himself to *Rouen*.

Here his Bruise turn'd to a Rupture, and his Sicknefs encreasing with the Anguish of his Wound, gave too soon and true Apprehensions of his Danger : Yet he languish'd for some time , which he made use of to do many Acts of great Charity, and give other Testimonies of Piety and Resignation to the Will of God, as well as to dispose the Succession and Affairs of his State ; leaving by his Testament the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, the Kingdom of *England* to *William* his second Son, and all his Treasures, which were very Great, to *Henry* his Third. After this he ended his Life in the full Career of Fortune and Victory, which attended him to his Grave, through the long Course of more than threescore Years Reign. For he began that in *Normandy* at about ten years old,

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and continu'd it above forty years before his *English Expedition*, after which he reign'd above twenty years in *England*, and dy'd in or about the seventy second year of his Age, and the Year of our Lord 1087.

Several Writers shew their ill Talent to this Prince, in making particular Remarks, how his Corps was immediately forsaken by all his Friends and Followers, as soon as he expir'd ; how the Monks of an Abby he had founded, were thereby induc'd to come of Charity, and take the Care of his Body and his Burial, which he had order'd to be at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and in a Church he had there built. How the Ground that was open'd to receive him was claim'd at that Instant, by a Knight of the Country, who alledged it had belonged to his Ancestors and himself, and was violently

lently or unjustly seized from them by the King ; so that his Funeral was fain to be deferred till an Agreement was made, and the Value of the Ground paid to the Claimer, with other invidious Circumstances, which may argue the Ingratitude, Avarice, or other Vices of his Servants or Subjects then living ; but not defame the Memory, or obscure the Glory of the Dead.

Thus ended all that was Mortal of this noble King, and this renowned Conqueror ; for his Fame will never die, but remain for ever in the most lasting Records of Time, and Monuments of Glory, among the Princes most celebrated for their brave Atchievements in War, their wise Institutions in Peace, the Length and Prosperity of their Lives and their Reigns. In all which he must with Justice be confessed not to have been equal-
led

led by many, if indeed by any we read of in Story.

I have made no mention of any great Councils or Assemblies held in this King's Reign; because I find no clear Evidence of the Nature or Constitution, the Times or the Occasions of them, whether like those used in the *Saxon Reigns*, or like the Parliaments in *Normandy*, or whether that Style was introduced here, in this King's Time or that of his Sons who succeeded him. It appears, that he often assembled the Nobles and Barons of the Realm; but whether upon the Solemnity of some great Festivals or some Occasions of more Importance, either for the Honour of his Court, or Consultation of his Affairs, I find not so well recorded, nor so easie to determine as some will have it. It is agreed only that there were two general Assemblies

Assemblies of the Clergy; one about the sixth Year of his Reign, upon a Controversie between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York* about the Primacy, which was therein determin'd in favour of the first; The other about erecting some new Bishopricks, or translating their Sees from some decayed and smaller Towns, to others grown in that Age more populous and opulent. The *Litchfield Chronicle* also relates how in the fourth Year of his Reign he summoned out of every County, the Nobles, the Wise Men, and such as were learned in their own Law; that he might from them learn what were their ancient Laws and Customs. After which the *Laws* of *St. Edward* were conserved, and by him confirm'd throughout the Whole Kingdom.

I have not been so particular as
other

other Writers, in the Names of Places or of Persons, or Distinction of Years ; because in such Antiquity of Times and Variety of Authors, I find them very hard to be ascertain'd. Besides, the Disagreement among *Writers* is so great, in *assigning* the Years to the several Actions of this Prince, that so important an Affair, as that of framing the *Doomesday-Book*, is by some referred to the eighth, by others to the thirteenth, and by some to the nineteenth Year of his Reign ; And many others are left in the same uncertainty.

I have likewise omitted the Accounts and Remarks wherein some *Writers* have busied their Pens, of strange Comets, Inclemencies of Seasons, raging Diseases, or deplorable Fires, that are said to have happen'd in this Age and Kingdom, and are represented by some

as Judgments of God upon this King's Reign. Because I rather esteem them Accidents of Time or Chance, such as happen in one Part or other of the World, perhaps every Age, at some Periods of time, or from some Influence of Stars, or by the conspiring of some natural or casual Circumstances; and neither argue the Virtues or Vices of Princes, nor serve for Example or Instruction to Posterity, which are the great Ends of History, and ought to be the chief Care of all Historians.

For this Reason as well as to comply with common Custom, it may not be improper or unnecessary to end the wise, politick, and prosperous Reign with the just Character of this renowned Prince; Since all great Actions in the World, and Revolution of States may be truly derived, from the

Genius

Genius of the Persons, that conduct and govern them, so as by comparing both together, and observing the Causes as well as Events, it may be easie to discern, by what Personal Qualities and Dispositions of Princes the happy and glorious Successes of their own Fortunes, with the Greatness and Felicity of their States, are generally atchieved; for, to attribute such great Events to Time or to Chance, were to destroy the Examples, and confound the Consequences of all Virtues and Vices among Men.

William, furnamed the *Conqueror*, was of the tallest Stature among those common in his Age and Country; his Size, large and his Body strong built, but well proportioned: His Strength such, as few of his Court could draw his Bow: His Health was great and constant, which made him very
active

active in his Business and his Pleasures, till about the Decline of his Age he grew something corpulent; from all which, I suppose, came the Story in some *Norman Writers*, that he was eight Foot high, or the Size of *Hercules*.

As he was of goodly Personage, so his Face was lovely, but of a Masculine Beauty, the Loins being strong rather than delicate; his Eyes were quick and lively, but when mov'd something fierce; his Complexion Sanguine, his Countenance very pleasant, when he was gay and familiar; when he was serious, something severe.

His Pastimes were chiefly Hunting and Feasting; in the first he spent much time, used great Exercise, and yet much Moderation of Diet. In his Feasts, which were designed for Magnificence or Conversation, to know or to be
known

known among his Nobles ; and not for Luxury ; he was courteous, affable, familiar, and often pleasant, and which made him the more so to his Company, was easie at those times in granting Suits and Pardons.

It is by all agreed, that he was *chaste* and *temperate*, which, with a happy Constitution, and much Exercise, preserv'd not only his *Health* but *Vigor*, to the last Decline of his Age.

He was of sound natural Sense, and *shew'd* it not only in his own *Conduct* and *Reasoning* upon all Great Occasions, but also in the Choice of his Ministers and Friends, wherein no Prince was happier or wiser than he.

He talk'd little, never vaunted, observ'd much, was very secret, and us'd only *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with an universal

Confidence, both as a Counsellor and a Friend ; to whom he was ever meek and gentle, though to others something austere, as if the Conqueror had been himself subdued by the Wisdom and Virtue of that excellent Man.

In his Purposes he was steady, but not obstinate ; and though constant to his Ends, yet applicable to Occasions, as appeared by his favouring and trusting the *Normans* in his Troubles of *England*, and the *English* in those of *Normandy* ; and was either very wise or very happy in the Arts of gaining Enemies and retaining Friends, having never lost but one, which was *Fitz-Auber*.

He was a Prince deep in his Designs, bold in his Enterprises, firm in his Prosecution, excelling in the Order and Discipline of his Armies, and choice in his Officers both of his Army and his State :
but

but admirable in Expedition and Dispatch of Civil as well as Military Affairs, never deferring till to Morrow, what should be done to Day.

Above all, he was careful and prudent in the Management of his Treasure; and finding a Temper between the Bounty of his own Nature, and the Necessity of his Affairs, proportioning always the Expences of his Gifts, his Buildings, his Enterprises, to the Treasure he was master of for defraying them, designing nothing out of his Compass, and thereby compassing all he seemed to design.

He was religious in frequenting Divine Service, giving much Alms, building Abbies, and endowing them, sending Presents of Crosses of Gold, rich Vestures and Plate to many other Churches, and much Treasure to *Rome*.

He was a great Lover of Learning

ing ; and tho' he despised the loose, ignorant *Saxon Clergy* he found in *England*, yet he took Care and Pleasure to fill Ecclesiastical *Dignities* here with Persons of Great *Worth* and *Learning* from abroad ; as *Lanfranc*, *Durand*, *Anselm*, with many more.

He was a Lover of Virtue in others, and Hater of Vice ; for being naturally very kind to his half Brother *Odon* Bishop of *Bayeux*, having made him Earl of *Kent*, given him *great Revenues*, entrusted him in his Absence with the Government of the Realm, yet finding him a Man of incurable Ambition, Avarice, Cruelty, Oppression and Prophaneness, he at length wholly *disgrac'd* him, and kept him in Prison *during* all the rest of his *Reign* ; which seems to have been a just Punishment of his Crimes, and Sacrifice to the *English*

glish, he had cruelly oppress'd in the *King's* Absence, rather than a *Greediness* of his Treasures, as some *envious Writers* would make it appear.

Yet by the Consent of them all, and the most partial or malicious to his Memory, as well as others ; He is *agreed* to have been a Prince of Great *Strength, Wisdom, Courage, Clemency, Magnificence, Wit, Courtesie, Charity, Temperance, and Piety*. This short Character, and by all agreed, is enough to vindicate the Memory of this Noble Prince and Famous Conqueror, from the Aspersions or Detractions of several malicious or partial Authors, who have more unfaithfully represented his *Reign*, than any other Period of our *English History*.

Having taken a full View of this *King* in his Actions and his

Person, it remains only that we consider the Consequences that both of them had, upon the Condition of this Kingdom, which will be best discovered by the Survey of what it lost, what it preserved, and what it gained by this famous Conquest.

England thereby must be confessed to have lost; first, very great Numbers of brave *English Men*, who fell in the Battle of *Hastings*, and in two Wars afterwards by the Revolt of the Nobles, and Invasion of the *Scots* in Favour of *Edgar Atheling*. Likewise many Nobles and Gentlemen, who disdaining all Subjection to a forreign and conquering Power, retired into *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Denmark*, and after the Extinction of their Hopes, by the Suppression of all Endeavours in Favour of *Edgar's* Right, never returned, but left their Families ha-

habituated in those Countries, choosing, if they must live under a forreign Dominion, to do it rather abroad than at home.

In the next place, *England* lost the true Line of their ancient *Saxon Kings*, who were a Race of just good, and pious Princes, governed by such known Laws, and with such Moderation, and were so beloved of their People, as makes it observed by Writers, that no popular Insurrection ever happened in any of the *Saxon Reigns*.

Lastly, *England* by the Conquest lost in a great Measure, the old Plainness and Simplicity of the *Saxon Times* and Customs of Life, who were generally a People of good Meaning, plain Dealing, contented with their own, little coveting or imitating their Neighbours, and living frugally upon the Product of their own fruitful Soil :

For the Profusion of Meats at our *English* Tables came in with the *Danes*, and the Luxury of them was introduc'd first by the *Normans*, and after encreas'd by the more frequent use of Wines upon the Accession of *Guienne* to this Crown.

What we preserv'd is remarkable in three Particulars not usual upon Great Conquests ; for, first, we preserv'd our Name, which was lost by the *Saxon Invasions*, but that of *England* then (succeeding the other of *Britain*) has ever since continu'd.

Next, we preserv'd our *Language*, or the Old *English Tongue*, which has made the Body and Substance of what still remains, tho' much enlarg'd and polish'd since those Times, by the transplanting many Words out of *Forreign Languages*, especially *Latin* and *French*. In

In the last Place, we preserved our Forms of Government, our Laws and Institutions, which have been so much celebrated by ancient Writers, and have been so obstinately defended by our Ancestors, and are by Chancellor *Fortescue*, who writ in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth, averred to have been preserved through the five several Governments in this Island, of *Normans*, *Danes*, *Saxons*, *Romans*, and *Britains*, and so to have continued for a longer Course of Time, than those of *Rome* or *Venice*, or any other Nation known in Story. But this, I doubt, is not so easily proved as affirmed, though it may be with more Certainty the three first, which is sufficient to illustrate the Antiquity of our Constitutions, without Recourse to strained or uncertain Allegations.

For

For what we gained by our Loss in this Conquest, though it seems a Contradiction, yet it may be observed in many more Particulars than the other two.

First, *England* grew much greater both in Dominion and Power abroad, and also Dignity and State at home, by the Accession of so much Territory upon the Continent. For though the *Normans* by the Conquest gained much of the *English Lands* and Riches, yet *England* gained *Normandy*, which by it became a Province to this Crown.

Next it gained great Strength by the great Numbers of *Normans* and *French* that came over with the Conqueror, and after his Establishment here, and incorporated with the *English Nation*, joyning with them in the same Language, Laws, and Interests.

Then

Then we gained much by the great Encrease of our Naval Power, and Multitude of Ships, wherein *Normandy* then abounded, by the Advantage of more and better Havens, than in latter *Ages*.

This, with the perpetual Inter-course between *England* and *Normandy*, and other Parts of the Continent, gave us a mighty Encrease of Trade and Commerce, and thereby of Treasure to the Crown and *Kingdom*, which appeared first in so great a Mass, as was left by the Conqueror to Prince *Henry* his younger Son.

England, by the Conquest, gained likewise a natural Right to the Dominion of the narrow Seas, which had been before acquir'd only by the great Naval Power of *Edgar* and other *Saxon Kings*. But the Dominion of the narrow Seas, seems naturally to belong, like that
of

of Rivers, to those who possess the Banks or Coasts on both sides: And so to have strengthened the former Title, by so long a Coast, as that of *Normandy* on one side and of *England* on the other side the Channel.

Besides, by this Conquest we gained more Learning more Civility, more Refinement of Language, Customs; and Manners, from the great Resort of other Strangers, as well as Mixture of *French* and *Normans*.

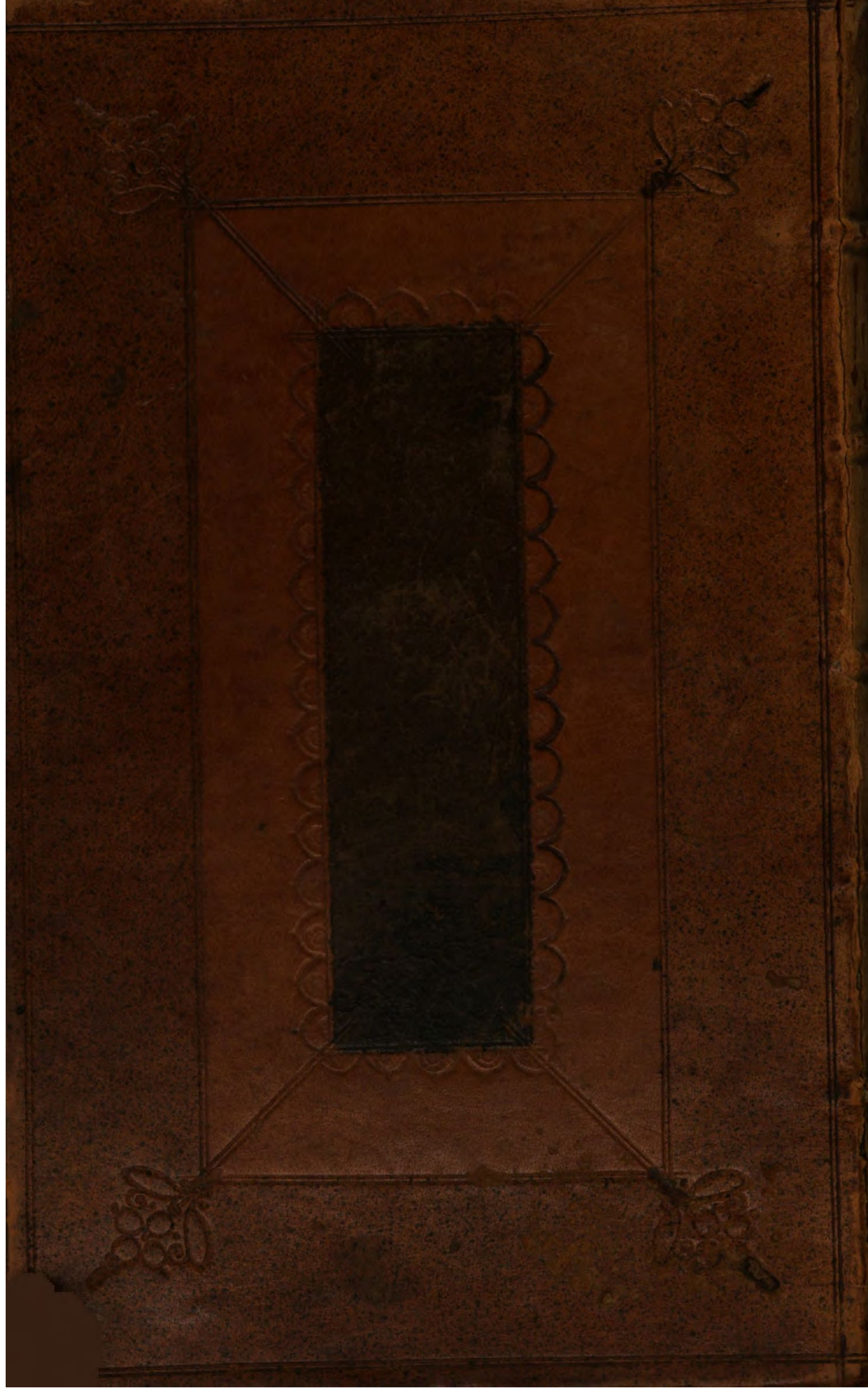
And lastly, we gained all our Consideration abroad, by carrying our Arms so often and so gloriously, as well as extending our Dominions into forreign Countries; so that whereas our *Saxon Kings* were little known abroad, further than by the Fame of their Devotion and Piety, or their Journeys, Gifts, and Oblations, made to *Rome*, af-
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ter the Conquest, the Crown of *England* grew first to be fear'd by our Neighbours, to have constant Intercourse with other Forreign Princes, to take part and be consider'd in all the Affairs of *Christendom*, and by the following Accessions of *Anjou* and *Guien*, came in a short time to be esteem'd without Controversie, while they possessed those Dominions, the greatest Power of any Kingdom then in *Christendom*, as appears by so many glorious Adventures, and Successes of their Arms in *France*, *Spain*, *Brittany*, *Flanders*, *Sicily*, and the *Holy Land*.

From all these happy Circumstances of this Famous Conquest, all the succeeding Kings of *England* seem justly to have done this Conqueror the Honour of dating from him, the first Great Period of their Reigns, by which those of
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the *Saxons* and other *preceding* Dominions or Governments here, are left us in Story, but like so many antique, broken, or defaced Pictures, which may still represent something of the Customs and Fashions of those *Ages*, though little of the true Lines, Proportions, or Resemblance. But all that has succeeded, since this *King's Reign*, though not drawn by any one skilful Hand, or by the Life, yet is represented in so clear a *Light*, as leaves very little, either obscure or uncertain, in the History of our *Kingdom*, or the Succession of our *Kings*.

FINIS.



Temple, William,

An Introduction To The History Of England

London 1708

Brit. 513

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